FBIS DAILY REPORT

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BCP POLITBURO APPROVAL OF MOSCOW MEETING

AU011926 Sofia BTA in English 1857 GMT 1 Jul 83

[Text] Sofia, July 1 (BTA) -- The Politburo of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party reviewed the results of the meeting of senior party and state leaders of Bulgaria, the German Democratic Republic, Poland, Romania, the Soviet Union, Hungary and Czechoslovakia which was held on June 28 this year in Moscow and endorsed the activity of the Bulgarian delegation headed by Mr Todor Zhivkov secretary general of the CC of the BCP and president of the State Council.

The Politburo expressed consent with the assessment that the situation in Europe and in the world continues to worsen, tensions are getting worse, inter-state relations are getting destablized, the threat of a nuclear war is growing with its catastrophical consequences, the arms race is assuming unprecedented dimensions, preparations are going on for the deployment of new American medium-range missiles in some countries of the Western Europe. The United States of America and some of their allies are not even making a secret of the fact that they are pursuing the achievement of military superiority over the socialist countries.

The Politburo of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party finds the outlined measures for counteracting this dangerous policy as necessary and expedient, for this is a policy which pushes the world towards a catastrophe. It unanimously endorses the pronounced striving towards the development of good and even closer relations between all states and the appeal towards the European states to do their utmost for the defusing of the nuclear threat in Europe, to convert the continent into a continent of peace, free of nuclear weapons. At the same time the Politburo fully backs up the expressed resolution of the countries participating in the meeting by no means to allow military predominance over themselves.

The Politburo of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party is attaching great significance to the appeal towards the North-Atlantic Alliance member-countries to sober-mindedly assess the trends objectively endangering the present development of international relations and to make their sensible conclusions corresponding to the vital interests of mankind. It hopes that the NATO state will respond to this appeal.

The Politburo of the CC of the BCP assesses the adopted joint declaration as a new expression of the unity of the consistent line of the socialist countries for the averting of the threat looming over mankind, for the strengthening of peace and cooperation, for the continuation of the process of detente.

PEOPLE'S ARMY CELEBRATES 40TH ANNIVERSARY

Tirana Cultural Palace Rally

AU051957 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 5 Jul 83

[Text] On the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the creation of our People's Army, the Ministry of People's Defense today organized a jubilee session with the theme "The Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha -- Creators, Organizers, and Leaders of Our People's Army" in one of the halls of the Tirana Cultural Palace. Taking part were soldiers from all the defense structures, veterans, workers from production centers and scientific institutions, cadres of the departments, the youth union organizations, and others. Also taking part were Comrade Simon Stefani, AWP Central Committee Politburo member and secretary; Comrade Prokop Murra, AWP Central Committee Politburo candidate member and minister of people's defense; Comrade Foto Cami, AWP Central Committee Politburo candidate member and first secretary of the Tirana District AWP Committee; Comrade Nexhmije Hoxha, AWP Central Committee member and director of the Institute of Marxist-Leninist Studies under the AWP Central Committee; Comrade Shefqet Peci, AWP Central Committee member and chairman of the Albanian War Vetarans Committee; Prof. Aleks Buda, chairman of the Academy of Sciences, and other comrades.

At the session Kico Mustaqi, deputy minister of people's defense and chief of the Army General Staff, delivered the report "The Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha -- Creators, Organizers and Leaders of Our People's Army." This report analyzed some characteristics of the National Liberation Army's creation and growth, such as the creative implementation of Marxism-Leninism under our country's conditions, and it referred to our People's Army as one of the most important weapons of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the defense of the socialist revolution's victories. Mustaqi emphasized that during the 4 decades of its existence, our People's Army has been tempered and modernized as an armed force of the new type, in steel-like unity with the armed people and eternally loyal to the party's line, as a sure defender of the people's interests.

He pointed out in the report that due to the continuous care of the party and Comrade Enver Hoxha, our army has advanced on the road of uninterrupted development from its beginnings as a small army created by the Antifascist National Liberation War. It has turned into an advanced and strong army with all the Marxist-Leninist political and ideological traits, and it is armed with the victorious strategy and tactics of people's struggle. Mustaqi concluded by saying that our People's Army, shaped with the principles of the party's policy, the principles of proletarian morale, and with revolutionary feelings and proletarian internationalism, will become more developed and stronger in the future as well.

Reports were also delivered at the session by scientific cadres and army workers outlining the party's role, which has always been the spirit of the army and the brain which directs it onto a correct path. Individual reports referred to the deep revolutionary and popular nature of our army, to the need for the personnel's ideo-political education as a basic duty for their revolutionary tempering, for the constant implementation of the party's line in the army. They also referred to the formation of the general staff by the party and Comrade Enver Hoxha as a historically important event for the further development of the armed struggle and the organization of the National Liberation Army. They referred to the militant training in the army and of all the armed people based on the military Marxist-Leninist science and on our military art of the people's struggle, to the youth's role in the homeland's liberation and defense, and so forth.

Comrade Prokop Murra drew conclusions at the session, pointing out some directions of the army's scientific work and study in implementing the directives of the party and the teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha.

Labinot Rally

AU061945 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 6 Jul 83

[Summary] Numerous visitors have been coming to the village of Labinot [Elbasan District] the site where the General Staff of the Antifascist National Liberation was formed 40 years ago on 10 July 1943. They have come from all over the country to pay a visit to the museum, formerly the building where the General Staff was formed.

Today, thousands of people gathered in front of the building, mainly from the local villages and neighboring areas, including many veterans and relatives of those who fell during the war. The participants applauded the arrival of Pali Miska, AWP Central Committee Politburo member; AWP Central Committee members Haxhi Lleshi, Spiro Koleka, Piro Kondi, and Niti Mito; Simon Ballabani, deputy minister of people's defense; Mehmet Elezi, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Union of Working Youth of Albania, and others. The rally was opened by Jovan Bardhi, chairman of the People's Council Executive Committee of Elbasan District. Comrade Pali Miska greeted those present:

[Begin Miska recording] "Dear comrades, we are meeting today in Labinot to celebrate one of the most important events in the history of our party and people, the 40th anniversary of the creation of our People's Army. On this occasion, in the name of the AWP Central Committee, the Council of Ministers, the General Council of the Democratic Front of Albania, and in the name of the beloved leader of our party and people, the supreme commander of our Army, Comrade Enver Hoxha, I wish you happy festivities from the heart. [applause]

"Forty years ago, in the fire of the National Liberation War, the Central National Liberation Council, acting on the proposal of the Central Committee of the Albanian Communist Party, formed the General Staff of the National Liberation Army in this patriotic house, amid the enthusiasm of the partisan units and the people of this area. I avail myself of this opportunity to thank and congratulate the heroic and patriotic people of Labinot and of Cermenika for the bravery, loyalty, and intelligence they displayed throughout the entire period of the National Liberation War and for holding Comrade Enver Hoxha, leader of the party and of the National Liberation Army and the General Staff, in their homes and in their hearts." [end Miska recording]

With the creation of the General Staff, Comrade Pali Miska went on to say, our struggle entered a new phase. Our National Liberation Army rose from the people and was tempered in the struggle that led to victory. The party made it clear to the people that the country's liberation could only come through armed struggle. Our people, he went on to say, heeded the party and achieved the desired victory and freedom. Comrade Pali Miska also dwelt on the party's effort to unmask the treacherous organizations which collaborated with the enemy and were trying to sabotage our struggle. He spoke about the innumerable sacrifices of the people, the great destruction caused by the war and the loss of thousands upon thousands of young men and women. He went on to mention the successes achieved by our poeple in strengthening and defending the country, in raising the degree of combat readiness and political awareness of the Army and of the armed people, the elevation of the party's role in the Army and in all other fields. Comrade Pali Miska stated that the party and Comrade Enver Hoxha have always shown the greatest concern for strengthening and modernizing the Army and for raising its militant spirit.

"Comrade Pali Miska also dwelt on the international situation, the exacerbation of this situation, the further militarization of the superpowers.

"He spoke about the crisis that has currently gripped the capitalist and revisionist world, and continued by saying that faced with such a situation, we must further strengthen unity around the party, we must further sharpen our revolutionary vigilance and strengthen the country's defense and the national economy by daily fulfilling the tasks set by the party. The strengthening of unity, he said, is a decisive prerequisite for defending the country and successfully building socialism. The further consolidation of the country's defense potential is achieved by constantly strengthening and improving the economy." He went on to speak about the achievements of our people during the period of socialist construction, stating that they were a great source of inspiration for further achievements and progress on the road of socialist construction under the leadership of the party and Comrade Enver Hoxha in accordance with the directives of the Eighth AWP Congress.

Comrade Pali Miska's speech was frequently interrupted with ovations for the party and Comrade Enver Hoxha. Mehmet Elezi, first secretary of the Union of Working Youth of Albania, then informed those present about the relays organised throughout the country to mark the 40th anniversary of the creation of the People's Army. One hundred representatives of army units and youth organizations throughout the country were welcomed by the rally with affection and ovations. Out of the hundreds of messages they brought a final message was drafted to be delivered to Comrade Enver Hoxha, supreme commander of the Armed Forces, by a group of young people.

Murra Attends Meeting

AU061947 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 6 Jul 83

[Summary] On the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the formation of the People's Army, a meeting with exemplary servicemen was held in one of the halls of the Central Army Club in Tirana this afternoon. The meeting was attended by servicemen, reserve officers, and cadets from the military schools. "Also present were Prokop Murra, AWP Central Committee Politburo candidate member and minister of people's defense; AWP Central Committee member Niti Mito; Mehmet Elezi, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Union of Working Youth of Albania, and others."

Those present were greeted by Simon Ballabani, deputy minister of people's defense. Exemplary servicemen, heroes of socialist labor, heroes of the people and others also spoke at the meeting, which also included movie screenings and other artistic activities.

HOXHA RECEIVES BRAZILIAN COMMUNIST PARTY LEADER

AU071910 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 7 Jul 83

[Text] Comrade Enver Hoxha, first secretary of the AWP Central Committee, received at AWP headquarters Comrade Joao Amazonas, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Brazil, who arrived in our country yesterday. During the meeting, which took place in a very cordial and friendly atmosphere in a spirit of sincere internationalist friendship, they discussed questions of common interest to both parties and showed complete unity of views on all problems. The meeting was also attended by AWP Central Committee Secretary Ramiz Alia, AWP Central Committee member Sofokli Lazri, and Agim Popa, director of the Foreign Directorate of the AWP Central Committee.

CIVIL DEFENSE DISCUSSED BY ORGANIZATION HEAD

AU071434 Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 5 Jul 83 pp 1, 2

[Article by Colonel General Tencho Papazov, head of the Bulgarian People's Republic Civil Defense and deputy minister of national defense: "Civil Defense Must Respond to Party Requirements"]

[Text] The sinister mountains of accumulated weapons, and among them the most destructive ones -- nuclear arms -- continue to grow on our planet. Other types of weapons aimed at mass destruction are being developed and perfected as well. Within a few minutes they are capable of transforming our earth into a desert and putting an end to human civilization. This danger is apparently not fully understood by the ruling circles of the United States because they are forcing their policy of a daily arms race upon the world in the hope that through the force of weapons they will be able to achieve worldwide domination.

The arms race represents the material base of military confrontation. There is a danger of provocations, capable of increasing international tension to a dangerous extent. The hotbeds of tension still exist. Local wars and conflicts are erupting from time to time in many places around the world.

Mankind should not forget the merciless lessons of historical experience that we experienced in the last decades and should by no means forget the warning expressed by the immortal Lenin, that "as long as imperialism exists, the real danger of war will not cease to exist." Hence, the commitment of our socialist camp in pursuing and developing the peaceful progress of socialism to constantly preserve our vigilance and the readiness collectively to resist imperialist manipulations and adventures.

Taking all this into consideration, our party and state, together with the other Warsaw Pact member countries, are demonstrating constant vigilance as regards the policy of the reactionary forces and are preparing their counteraction against the attempts to take advantage of the peace-loving policy conducted by the USSR and by the other socialist countries so as to undermine socialism. This means that the peaceful policy of the socialist community must be supported by an invincible defensive power.

Under the circumstances of a possible nuclear war, other factors determining the country's defensive power will play an important role -- such as the level of our economic development, the training of our population, and the preparation of our national economy for defense against mass destruction weapons, as well as for reliable work and stable production under the difficult circumstances of war. Such training and preparations are implemented by the civil defense organs, which represent an inseparable part of the total defense system in our country. This is why, along with the care to increasing the combat strength of our army, the BCP Central Committee and Comrade Todor Zhivkov, its secretary general, as well as the State Council and our people's government, are devoting great care and special attention to the development and consolidation of the civil defense organs, of its staffs, services, and formations in order to perfect their work and to comprehensively support and assist their initiatives.

Civil defense, the chief goal of which is to defend the population and our national economic projects against mass destruction weapons, actually plays an important role in guaranteeing the invincible defensive power of our motherland and the survival of our people and our nation.

If the country were not prepared for defense against such weapons, we would suffer tremendous material losses and losses of human lives, which actually would be likely to disrupt the balance of supplying the army with soldiers and all other resources for waging an armed struggle. Important national economic projects would be prevented from functioning, which would disrupt the normal working cycle in a number of important economic branches and production links.

As a system of statewide protection measures for defense of the population, of national economic projects, our material and intellectual assets, and the mass media, and for the implementation of urgently needed repair and restoration work, civil defense contributes to ensuring the country's viability in wartime. In defending our basic production force -- man -- in increasing the stable functioning of our national economic projects, and in overcoming the consequences of the enemy's attacks, civil defense creates prerequisites for our country, making it capable of resisting considerable trials. This fact confirms the important role assigned by the party and government to civil defense under the present circumstances. This is why our first party and state leader has stressed the following: "Under the present circumstances, we cannot talk about the establishment of a comprehensive and effective system of defense for our entire country without a well-organized civil defense in keeping with contemporary requirements." We can add that no defense measure whatsoever today can be successfully implemented without taking into consideration the requirements of civil defense.

The preparation of our population and our national economy for defense against mass destruction weapons is a task of great scope and responsibility. The complicated character of the tasks for civil defense emanating from the requirements of contemporary war have not and cannot have any administrative limitations. The great destructive power of contemporary arms demands in peacetime as well as under wartime conditions coordination of all party, administrative, and economic organs and all mass organizations, cultural institutions, creative unions, and mass media. This is why civil defense is not a specialized administrative institution but a nationwide and statewide system. This demands that its initiatives should be included in the socioeconomic development plans and that they should be implemented by ministries, administrative departments, and social organizations, as well as by the people's councils. All these institutions are obliged to organize and implement party political work aimed at guaranteeing the training and education of civil defense cadres, as well as motivating the population and personnel of civil defense formations for conscious participation in such measures.

The theory and practice of implementing the civil defense system are determined by our party's program on building a developed socialist society, adopted by the 12th BCP Congress and by the decisions of the Council of Ministers and the party Central Committee plenums. As a result of all this, civil defense is a party task as well. Now, under the leadership of the party committees and the organs and organizations subjected to the committees and the organs and organizations subjected to the committees, permanent control is exerted in and assistance rendered to the work of the ministries and central administrative offices, as well as to the executive committees of the people's councils in comprehensively dealing with the questions pertaining to the material-technical base of the civil defense system and in connection with the training of the population and the preparation of our national economy for defense against mass destruction weapons.

The experience of recent years shows that successes in the defense of the population and the national economy are achieved by those ministries, administrative departments, okrugs, enterprises, and offices, where party committees and bureaus exert an efficient impact upon the comprehensive accomplishment of defense tasks, namely, wherever such activities are considered an indivisible part of economic tasks.

As a result of party care and the efforts of okrug, municipal, and enterprise staffs the basic tasks of civil defense have been accomplished with success in recent years by the ministries, okrugs, municipalities, and national economic projects. These successes are particularly tangible in the capital. As a result of socialist competition, the number of frontranking civil defense chiefs and services has greatly increased and a number of national economic enterprises have been awarded the title of "Exemplary in Civil Defense Activities." The prerequisite of such successes is the fact that individual and collective pledges in civil defense competition are directly linked to the counter-plans in production.

The civil defense staffs, services, and formations have assumed the task of preparing energetic actions not only for wartime conditions, but also in the struggle against natural disasters and in the case of grave accidents in production during peacetime. The selfless combat activities of the personnel in the staffs, services, and formations of the civil defense system in rescuing people and the people's property in cases of natural disasters and production accidents have been highly praised by the local party and state organs; they have earned the ardent gratitude of the population. Dozens of fighting men have been awarded government decorations and hundreds of others have been rewarded with moral and material incentives for thier actions.

An important prerequisite for further successes in the civil defense service is the training of commanders and leadership staffs for acting in emergency situations. Such training can be achieved only through periodic lessons, training exercises, and organized instruction in civil defense, thus refreshing the memories and notions of the commanding staff. Now, the question of decisively improving the quality of civil defense training is prevailing over all other problems. In his speech to the national conference of the party, state, economic, and social aktiv on questions of quality, recently held in Varna, Comrade Todor Zhivkov described the problem of quality as a "key problem" in building a mature socialist society. This means that this question fully refers to activities in defense of the population and our national economy. This is why the forthcoming, comprehensive review on the quality of work and production of all collectives must devote great attention to the problems of quality in training the personnel of the civil defense formations and the population as a whole under any critical circumstances.

The emphasis in civil defense work must be placed on the practical orientation of training staffs, services, formations, and the entire population. Only in this manner will civil defense work respond to the requirements of the party and worthily contribute to the defense of our socialist achievements.

The defensive power of the socialist state is determined by the moral-political and psychological endurance of personnel, the formations, and the entire population. Contemporary war demands from all our people a tremendous concentration of all their physical and moral efforts. It requires exceptional strength of endurance, a high state of organization and the strictest discipline. All organs and organizations that are directly connected with civil defense initiatives will have to devote more time and effort to the achievement of the people's moral-political and psychological training.

The dissemination of knowledge through the mass media -- the press, the cinema, radio, television, and visual agitation -- is playing an important role in developing lofty combat and moral qualities for the perfection of the people's training in civil defense activities. Oral political agitation also plays an important role in the dissemination of knowledge in this sector.

The waging of contemporary war with the use of mass destructive weapons is confronting our country's civil defense system with very strict requirements. This demands that the population and the entire national economy must be widely trained and prepared, as early as in peacetime, to work under difficult circumstances. The multifaceted character of the civil defense initiatives demands that the efforts of all party organs, leading bodies in ministries and departments, all mass organizations, and all the people should be concentrated upon the aforementioned tasks. All this will contribute to raise the standards of training of the population and the national economic sector to a higher level in defense against weapons of mass destruction. This is the only way to respond to the strict requirements assigned to us by the 12th BCP Congress.

IAEA DIRECTOR GENERAL PRAISES NUCLEAR PROGRAM

AU061938 Sofia BTA in English 1855 GMT 6 Jul 83

[Nuclear Power Generation -- Bulgaria Is On The Correct Road -- BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, July 6 (BTA) -- "Bulgaria is on the correct road developing her nuclear power generation. Bulgaria is one of the pioneer-countries in the use of nuclear reactions for obtaining electricity", said Mr Hans Blix, director general of the International Atomic genergy Agency (IAEA), who is on visit here. He stressed before journalists today that the Bulgarian programme for the development of nuclear energetics is impressive. Now more than 25 per cent of the electricity generated in the country is obtained from atomic power capacities. Two more nuclear reactors, each with capacity of 1000 MGW, will be put in operaion in the near future, which will make the proportion of electricity generated by nuclear capacities reach 40 percent. The guest assessed highly Bulgaria's achievements in this field, noting that few countries in the world can boast of such success.

Mr Hans Blix commented on the cooperation between Bulgaria and the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA). According to him, the cooperation is active and finds expression in useful contacts between Bulgarian institutes and laboratories and IAEA. Bulgaria not only draws on the international experience in the sphere of the peaceful use of nuclear energy along lines of IAEA, but also contributes to this sphere. The country takes part in the IAEA research activities on the basis of contracts, Bulgarian scientists and specialists read papers and make scientific notices at international forums every year more than 300 referates of publications mirroring the Bulgarian experience in the sphere of nuclear energy are being sent. [sentence as received] Scientists from the developing states are trained in Bulgarian institutes. And all this is only fraction of Bulgaria's cooperation with IAEA.

Mr Hans Blix met the chairman of the Committee for Science and Technological Progress, Mr Nacho Papazov, with whom they exchanged views on the future of the peaceful use of atomic energy. Mr Nacho Papazov stressed that Bulgaria highly assesses the activities of the IAEA, backs and will back these activities.

The guest visited the atomic power plant in Kozloduy.

POLITBURO HOSTS DINNER FOR OUTGOING USSR ENVOY

AU062011 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1930 GMT 6 Jul 83

[Text] On 6 July the BCP Central Committee Politburo gave an official dinner at the Boyana Residence for USSR Ambassador Nikita Tolubeyev, on his being awarded the Dimitrov Order and on his forthcoming final departure from the country. The following comrades attended the dinner: Todor Zhivkov, Aleksandur Lilov, Grisha Filipov, Dobri Dzhurov, Milko Balev, Ognyan Doynov, Pencho Kubadinski, Petur Mladenov, Petur Tanchev, Stanko Todorov, Tsola Dragoycheva, Andrey Lukanov, Georgi Yordanov, Petur Dyulgerov, Stoyan Karadzhov, Dimitur Stanishev, Georgi Atanasov, Vasil Tsanov, and Kiril Zarev. Members of the Soviet Embassy also attended the dinner.

At the dinner, which took place in an atmosphere of cordiality and fraternal friendship, Comrade Todor Zhivkov warmly congratulated the Soviet ambassador on being awarded the highest Bulgarian order. In his reply, Nikita Tolubeyev cordially expressed gratitude on receiving the high Bulgarian award.

MATERIALS ON POLISH FOREIGN MINISTER'S VISIT

Mladenov, Olszowski Speeches

AU301955 Sofia BTA in English 1840 GMT 30 Jun 83

[Speeches: P. Mladenov, S. Olszowski" -- BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, June 30 (BTA) -- "There is no such force able to destroy the friendship and cooperation between Bulgaria and Poland, as their is no force which can destroy their unity with the Soviet Union and the other socialist community countries", said Mr Petur Mladenov, minister of foreign affairs of Bulgaria and member of the Politburo of the CC of the Bulgarian Communist Party.

Emphasizing the good results of cooperation in the political, economic and cultural spheres, Mr Petur Mladenov noted the common determination for an increasingly intensive development of bilateral relations.

Mr Mladenov said that the extraordinary measures of the Polish leadership in defence of socialism, against the attacks of the internal and external counterrevolutionary forces have been accepted with complete understanding and class solidarity in Bulgaria. We, added he, are confident that the Polish United Workers' Party and the Polish people with hard work, realism and the fraternal help of the socialist community countries will solve the complex problems.

"The forces of the internal and world reaction are making every effort to reverse the course of the events in Poland to a crisis, to create new difficulties by means of different sanctions, open interference in the internal affairs of Poland, mass ideological and propaganda campaigns. But Poland was, is and -- we have no doubt in this -- will be socialist."

Dwelling on the exacerbated international situation at the fault of the extremist circles of imperialism in the United States of America and NATO, Mr Petur Mladenov underlined the particular importance of the further strengthening of cooperation and unity of the Warsaw Treaty and CMEA member-states, of their coordinated policy, aimed at the reduction of tension.

The Bulgarian foreign minister analyzed in brief all the peace initiatives of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries and stressed that their adoption would increase the trust between the states, would help achieve success in disarmament.

"The joint declaration, adopted at the Moscow meeting on June 28, this year, reflects the will of the socialist community countries to defend the cause of peace to the end, to act for stopping the dangerous sliding towards the brink of the abyss. At the same time they are firmly determined, provided the common sense and realism fail to take the upper hand in the West, to undertake every measure in defence of their security", said Mr Petur Mladenov. He underlined that between Bulgaria and Poland complete unanimity of the assessments and position. [sentence as received]

Mr Stefan Olszowski, minister of foreign affairs and member of the Politburo of the CC of the Polish United Workers' Party, said: "Today, in the face of the dangers caused by the policy of confrontation pursued by the United States of America and some other NATO states, still greater importance acquires the fact that Poland and Bulgaria have ensured for themselves a stable place in the community of the socialist countries, as well as the alliance and friendship with the great country of the Soviets -- the major force in which progressive mankind is placing its hopes for a peaceful future and protection of the world from a nuclear catastrophe".

Mr Olszowski underlined that his visit in Bulgaria is a new serious step forward along the road of developing the relations between the two countries.

He noted the common will of Poland and Bulgaria to take an active part in the struggle for peace, understanding and international cooperation.

The Polish foreign minister noted the particular danger of the intentions to deploy new American medium-range missiles in Western Europe. These moves have already led to the undermining of the process of detente, to the spreading of dangerous military doctrines approaching the threshold of a devastating nuclear confrontation.

Mr Olszowski underlined that Poland and Bulgaria assess identically the international relations and, in close alliance with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, are acting to terminate the dangerous trends in the development of the international situation, for preservation of peace. He noted that Poland fully supports all the peace proposals of the Soviet Union and the other socialist community countries.
It is time, said Mr Olszowski, for certain international forces to renounce completely the attempts at using the internal problems of Poland for the exacerbation of the international relations. As formerly, so in the future these attempts will be firmly repelled by our country, added he.

Mr Olszowski noted that, in spite of the difficulties, a considerable progress has been made in the process of stabilization of the socio-political and economic situation in Poland. The process of stabilization, however, is still troubled by the moves of the imperialist centres, and of Reagan's administration and the politicians of the other NATO states in particular.

"The entire anti-Polish campaign and the intolerable interference in our internal affairs is part of the anticommunist crusade, aimed at the entire community of the socialist countries. The efforts of the imperialists are futile. No one and nothing will swerve us from the road chosen by us. Poland is and will remain a lasting and solid link of the socialist community," said Mr Stefan Olszowski.

Further on Olszowski Remarks

LD010707 Warsaw PAP in English 2045 GMT 20 Jul 83

["Minister Olszowski's Toast Speech" -- PAP headline]

[Text] Referring to the 35th anniversary of the Polish-Bulgarian treaty on friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance, Minister Stefan Olszowski stressed in his speech that the treaty had created a strong and durable foundations for wide cooperation between both states in all walks of life.

He added that during Thursday's talks another important (?step) was made on the road to the development of relations between Poland and Bulgaria.

Referring to the statement issued by the participants of the Moscow meeting of the leaders of the socialist states, the Polish foreign minister emphasized that it constitutes another link in our joint efforts aimed at checking the dangerous course imposed by the imperialist states and at restoring normal character to international relations. At the same time, nobody should have any doubts that the states of the socialist community would allow a change in the existing parity of forces, allow anyone to gain military superiority over them.

Speaking about the Madrid conference, Minister Olszowski said that Poland in an open way approaches new initiatives which aim at concluding the Madrid conference with substantive and politically important results.

Next Minister Olszowski said that Poland had already made considerable progress in the stabilization of her socio-political situation. The recent debates of the PUWP CC 12th plenary meeting were an important stage in the mobilization of party forces. The defense and consolidation of the historical gains of socialism, resolute struggle against the internal and external enemies of socialist Poland as well as construction of agreement on the (? ground) of acceptation of the principles of our socio-political system still remain our key tasks.

The progressing process of stabilization in Poland is still disturbed by the activity of imperialist centres, said Stefan Olszowski. The Reagan administration and politicians of some NATO states particularly excel in this. Poland came [word indistinct] a broad programme of economic restrictions, political attacks. An indiscriminate propaganda aggression was launched. The whole anti-Polish campaign and inadmissible interference in our internal affairs is a part of anti-communist crusade [word indistinct] against the entire community of socialist states, simultaneously with this is a glaring violation of the elementary regulations of international law and the principles of coexistence between nations. [sentence as received]

The efforts of imperialism are all in vain. Nobody and nothing will turn us away from the road we chose. Poland is and will remain a durable and unfailing link in the community of socialist states.

The invaluable Soviet assistance and the political support given to us in the international arena by the USSR, Bulgaria and other brotherly countries is a telling example of internationalist attitude to our affairs, said minister Olszowski.

ZHIVKOV, FILIPOV CONGRATULATE POLISH LEADER

AU071015 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 6 Jul 83 p 1

[Text] Todor Zhivkov, secretary general of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, and Grisha Filipov, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, have sent the following telegram to Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee and chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Polish People's Republic:

Esteemed Comrade Jaruzelski, on the occasion of your 60th birthday and on the occasion of your decoration with the highest Bulgarian award -- the "Georgi Dimitrov" Order -- we convey the most sincere greetings to you.

The Bulgarian Communists and all working people in our country know you and respect you as a loyal son of the Polish people, as an outstanding party and state leader of the Polish People's Republic, as a Marxist-Leninist and internationalist, as an indefatigable fighter for the consolidation of the socialist community countries' unity.

We highly appreciate your great personal contribution to the consolidation of the PZPR ranks and of all Polish working people in overcoming the temporary difficulties that your country is going through, for the defense and strengthening of socialism and the security of the Polish People's Republic.

We are deeply convinced that the fraternal friendship and comprehensive cooperation between the BCP and the PZPR, between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the Polish People's Republic, which are built on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism, in close cooperation and unity of action with the Soviet Union and the other, fraternal socialist countries, will successfully develop also in the future in the interests of both the Bulgarian and Polish peoples, for peace and socialism throughout the world.

On the occasion of your 60th birthday, we wish you, dearest Comrade Jaruzelski, health and happiness, as well as new successes in your highly responsible work for the further building of socialist Poland, for the consolidation of the fraternal alliance between our two parties, countries and peoples.

PROTOCOL SIGNED WITH PDRY FOREIGN MINISTRY

AU011352 Sofia BTA in English 1315 GMT 1 Jul 83

[Text] Sofia, July 1 (BTA) -- Talks between a delegation of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, led by Mr Mahmud Najashi, member of the CC of the Yemen Socialist Party and undersecretary for international questions, and a delegation of Bulgaria, led by Mr Ivan Ganev, candidate-member of the CC of the BCP and deputy-minister of foreign affairs, were held in Sofia from June 27 to 30.

The delegation of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen was received by Mr Dimitur Stanishev, secretary of the CC of the BCP. It had talks, too, with the member of the CC of the BCP and first deputy-minister of foreign affairs of Bulgaria, Mr Mariy Ivanov.

In the course of talks, which proceeded in the spirit of friendship and complete understanding, some topical international issues were discussed. A protocol was signed on the cooperation between the ministries of foreign affairs of the two countries.

DEFENSE MINISTER DZUR'S ACTIVITIES IN MOSCOW

LD071357 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1200 GMT 7 Jul 83

[Text] USSR: Army General Martin Dzur, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and minister of national defense, who is paying an official friendly visit to the Soviet Union, laid wreaths today at the Mausoleum of Vladimir Ilich Lenin and at the tomb of the unknown soldier next to the Kremlin Wall. The Czechoslovak minister also visited the Yuriy Gagarin Military Academy today.

PAPER QUESTIONS COMPETENCE OF PRESIDENT REAGAN

AU061420 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 5 Jul 83 p 6

[Juraj Bydzovsky article: "Master of Black Humor"]

[Text] President Ronald Reagan is truly a man of many talents. Apart from his strenuous official duties, he does not hesitate to present himself as a showman; and his secret, innermost ambition to entertain the nation, and nations, is certainly well gratified.

At his latest press conference, the journalists pestered him with questions about the so-called Carter briefing book -- a set of notes that ex-President Carter had had prepared during the election campaign to prepare him for the television debate with his opponent at the time, Ronald Reagan. This briefing book "mysteriously" landed in the hands of Reagan's staff and served to prepare its own candidate for the debate.

The President smoothly swept the journalists' questions from the table: He had never seen anything like that; he had only got to know about it from the press reports. In this way, he placed his own staff in a peculiar light. What is this staff actually doing if the chief has to wait to read about such matters in the press? In order to prevent the boys from feeling offended, he told them after the press conference that he certainly cannot remember toward the end of the week what was lying about on his desk at its beginning.

This humorous tenor of the explosion of the President's self-criticism resounded like self-praise, even in the ears of his own entourage. For quite some time it has been rumored that the great Ronnie can only stand a 7-minute briefing at most from his advisers because at the beginning of the eighth minute he begins to forget what they told him in the first minute. Statesmen who conduct negotiations with him have already had to get used to the fact that there comes a time during any more complicated deliberations when the U.S. President stops listening and simply starts getting bored. And when, later, he has to reply, he either takes from his pocket a paper prepared in advance, or he lets his advisers speak for him.

During the recent meeting of top representatives of seven Western countries in Williamsburg, Ronald Reagan's advisers were greatly cheered by the concentrated way the President acted there. True, he concentrated on his hobbies. He stubbornly insisted that the meeting should concentrate solely on military issues, and express its agreement with his own ideas on arms.

The President's staff enthusiastically announced to the press that the President himself had even "written the minutes" ["vedl protokol"] at the session. More precisely, this means that at last he had again taken some notes.

This was sufficient for the staff to strive to prove to the journalists that the chief was fit, and to indicate that nothing prevented him from another candidacy.

THE WASHINGTON POST remarked on this: "This President is treated like a child. Everybody is dumbfounded when by some chance he is able to enter a conference hall to discuss in detail some topic with equally placed colleagues."

The Baltimore SUN wrote that the President is a kind of racehorse. "His advisers let him perform; they permit people to look at his well-combed coat for a moment when they lead him out of the stable and back in again. Then they put blinkers on him and tell him to run like crazy, taking no notice of anything that happens around him and disregarding everything."

Ronald Reagan makes his speeches on television with the mastery of a practiced performer, in the manner of the sweet-talking hero of the Westerns. It remains a secret to most veiwers that, in doing so, he is using an old trick of a kind of television commentator who is normally incapable of saying two sentences in succession without stuttering. He looks into the camera in a friendly way and he reads the text projected for him by a special apparatus behind the camera that is invisible to the viewers.

When he does not have this miraculous tool at his disposal, he is undoubtedly far more entertaining. Some time ago, at a dinner given by the Brazilian president, he delivered a toast and drank to the health of the Bolivian president. He addressed Senator Edward Kennedy, who represents the state of Massachusetts, as "Senator Massachusetts." Libya and Lebanon are interchangeable terms for him. He obviously wants to revive the old joke about people confusing helium with helicon. In the White House they say that the most efficient conferences are those during which the President falls asleep.

True, at a certain point all humor and all entertainment ends. Apart from other things, Ronald Reagan has claimed that nuclear missiles fired from submarines "can still be recalled even after they are fired." For him, a nuclear war is "quite normal and permissible." Whenever he lets the public be informed about the "outstanding state" of his biceps, he feels like a supermen who is capable of halting the Earth's rotation. "In the President's mind," THE WASHINGTON POST, which we cited above, worte, "the apparent and the real world merge together."

As regards the Carter notebook and the way he addresses various personalities, it could be said that every state has the leadership it deserves. But in view of the potentials of this leadership, the world is getting goosepimples.

CRITICISM OF SAKHAROV ARTICLE, INFLUENCE

AU061340 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 5 Jul 83 p 7

[From the "Note" column: Stanislav Obersky commentary: "Admirers of Infamy"]

[Text] In Monday's RUDE PRAVO we informed our readers about the article published by Moscow IZVESTIYA, in which Soviet scientists took a stand against Andrey Sakharov's essay [stat] in the American periodical FOREIGN AFFAIRS. In his essay the well-known anti-Soviet heckler, whom his friends call a "dissident," in fact urged the United States to wage a nuclear war against the Soviet Union and the socialist community.

Sakharov is living in the Soviet Union, where he was born. There was a time when he played an important part in atomic research and he knows very well what a terrible weapon an atomic or hydrogen bomb is. But he hates all Soviet, all socialist things. This hatred has completely gained the upper hand in his behavior. Now he has gone so far as to demand that the American nuclear sword be raised against the peace-loving people among whom he has lived, and is still living.

This is a rather shameless line for Sakharov to take but it was to be expected. It is the expression of his distorted consistency. In Autumn 1973, when it had become clear to the whole world how bloodily and barbariously the Pinochet junta was dealing with the Chilean patriots, Sakharov handed over to the bourgeois reporters in Moscow his letter to the dictator: He concluded this letter by calling the bloody havoc staged there by the soliders an "era of revival and consolidation in Chile."

Self-evidently, many bourgeois newspapers strove to find an excuse for Sakharov, because the report about his letter had evoked indignation in the world; nevertheless, commentator Haffner truthfully wrote in the West German STERN: "He did less than nothing for peace; his (Sakharov's) agitation is being taken up in the West most eagerly by those who are storming against peace and detente."

But not only the West is taking it up; the same thing is happening in our own country, in Czechoslovakia. It is known that, at the numerous press conferences arranged by Sakharov in his Moscow apartment for the bourgeois journalists who suited him, he spoke in defense of the so-called Chartists. And they in turn repaid him well: They praised him to high heaven, and regarded him as an example. Some time ago RUDE PRAVO remarked that they had found their leader and boss in this ruthlessly hateful anti-Sovietist.

Now a small handful of so-called dissidents wanted to present itself to certain participants in the World Assembly for Peace and Life, Against Nuclear War in Prague as an "unofficial peace movement." What, with Sakharov at its head? A person who would not hesitate to unleash a nuclear war against the country where he was born?

During the last few years the world public has learned much. People of the most varied opinions can easily discern what is camouflage. Perhaps "dissidents" in some small pub are sitting admiring Sakharov's statements in FOREIGN AFFAIRS. After all, what else is left to them?

BRATISLAVA PRESS LAMENTS PLO INTERNAL DISUNITY

AU061428 [Editorial Report] Bratislava SMENA in Slovak on 2 July on page 2 carried a 900-word Marian Babic commentary entitled "Playing Into the Aggressor's Hands." The commentary deals with the situation in Lebanon and the current conflicts within the PLO.

Babic first describes the "escalating terror" of the Israeli occupation forces in Lebanon and the U.S. "pressure" on Syria, said to be aimed at making Syria take the "capitulationist path of separate talks." Babic goes on to say:

"Particularly difficult is the position of the Palestinian movement, which had to leave Beirut. Washington and Tel Aviv realize that it did not leave as the loser, but as the winner. Now they would like to achieve what they failed to achieve on the battlefield.

That is why they are coming up with all kinds of plans involving the participation of Jordan in talks about the future of the occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip and why they have been trying, through some pro-American Arab regimes, to kindle conflicts within Palestinian ranks. However, the Algiers session of the Palestine National Council, the Palestinian parliament in exile, thwarted their plans by emphasizing the movement's unity. The present conflicts within Fatah, the most important Palestinian organization, which is the foundation of the PLO, undoubtedly come in handy to them. The conflicts concern questions of tactics and leadership of the organization. A group led by Colonel Abu Musa [Sa'id Musa Muragha] has come up with a demand for "collective leadership," a demand that without any doubt is directed against the leading position of Yasir 'Arafat in Fatah and the entire PLO. Regrettably, the conflicts have grown into relentless fighting between the Abu Musa group and the followers of Yasir 'Arafat in the Lebanese al-Biqa' Valley. Moreover, the situation has gotten worse between Yasir 'Arafat and Syria, which he criticized for its support of Abu Musa. In the end, Syria expelled 'Arafat from the country.

"These conflicts only play into the hands of the Israeli aggressor and his American protector overseas. That is why other segments of the Palestinian movement are calling for an end to the fighting and for solving the problems that exist in the movement. Only unity of all segments of the Palestinian revolution can contribute to the successful struggle to liberate the occupied Arab territories and set up an independent Palestinian state. Progressive Arab states have expressed themselves in a similar spirit. Moreover, they are pointing out the essential need to strengthen relations between the PLO, the Lebanese national and patriotic forces, and Syria, as a prerequisite for overcoming the American-Israeli conspiracy."

Bratislava ROLNICKE NOVINY in Slovak on 2 July 1983 on page 6 carries a 650-word "N"-signed article entitled "The Aggressor Is Taking Advantage of Conflicts." The article discusses the "deplorable armed clashes" between factions of Fatah in Lebanon and interprets them as "manifestation of radicalization of certain forces in the [Palestinian] movement" and as a "reflection of the movement's heterogeneous sociopolitical structure." Speaking about the current "complications" in relations between Syria and the PLO, the article quotes AL-NIDA', organ of the Communist Party of Lebanon, as having said that "behind these complications one can clearly see a new stage of the American-Israeli conspiracy against progressive forces in the Middle East." The aim of this "American-Israeli plot," according to ROLNICKE NOVINY, is to "divide the front of Arab forces against Zionism." In conclusion, the article stressed that neither Syria nor the PLO have anything to gain from the conflict and describes as "very important" the current efforts of Yasir 'Arafat to "unite the ranks of the movement and give it an acceptable prospect for the future." This is not only "the only way to successfully resist the new wave of pressure from Washington and Tel Aviv," but "a matter of the further fate of the right of the Palestinians to their homeland."

CHANDRA LISTS PLANNED WPC ACTIONS FOR 1983

AU291234 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 28 Jun 83 p 2

["(DB)"-signed report: "Press Conference With World Peace Council (WPC) Representatives; Peace Is Our Faith"]

[Summary] At the press conference followingthe WPC Presidium session given by Romesh Chandra, WPC chairman, and several WPC deputy chairmen on 27 June in Prague, Chandra told the journalists that "the election of 38 WPC deputy chairmen confirms that this peace body will continue working in a collective manner."

He then named some of the deputy chairmen elected: Luis Echeverria, ex-president of Mexico; Marshal Francisco da Costa Gomez, ex-president of Portugal; Jacques Denis, parliamentary deputy from France; Senator Dawit Ghiogis, Ethiopia; Muhammad Jaber Bajbouj, "minister of culture from Syria and member of the Ba'ath Regional Command"; General Filifing Sissoko from Mali and T.B. Sebasinghe from Sri Lanka, "both of whom are ministers"; O. Perez, member of Panama's Supreme Court; and others. The WPC currently has 142 member countries.

Chandra stated that the "WPC will not issue any further document or statement" after the Peace Appeal adopted by the World Peace Assembly in Prague. The WPC will "participate in the work proposed by the participants in the dialogue and in special interest groups" and "in the disarmament campaign proclaimed by the United Nations." "Part of our plans," Chandra stated, "concern 3 days this October -- 23, 24, and 29 October -- when many actions will take place, above all, in Europe and North America." On the anniversary of Martin Luther King's death, "27 August 1983, large marches for peace, work, and freedom will take place." On the occasion of the Hiroshima anniversary, "mass peace demonstrations will take place in Japan, Australia, and New Zealand." Chandra "also pointed out that all antiwar, peace forces of the world will celebrate 1 September, which has been declared Peace Day. During the week following this day there will be antiwar actions for disarmament."

Other speakers at the press conference stressed that the WPC "is establishing contacts with new antiwar and peace forces that are becoming stronger, above all, in the FRG, Great Britain, the United States, and Canada." WPC Deputy Chairmen James Lamond, MP from Great Britain, Reverend John Hanley Morgan from Canada, and Jacques Denis from France stressed that after returning home the participants in the World Peace Assembly in Prague will spread the ideas of the assembly and join in antiwar campaigns.

HUSAK CONGRATULATES MARKOVIC ON LCY ELECTION

LD011332 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1030 GMT 1 Jul 83

[Text] Gustav Husak, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, has congratulated Dragoslav Markovic on his election to the office of the president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium.

STROUGAL HOLDS TALKS WITH AUSTRIA'S STEGER

LD071527 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1330 GMT 7 Jul 83

[Text] Federal Premier Lubomir Strougal received at Hrzan Palace in Prague today Norbert Steger, Austrian vice chancellor and minister of commerce, trade and industry, who is visiting Czechoslovakia. During their conversation they discussed the results achieved in the development of mutual relations between the two countries in the political and economic spheres. They noted that deepening mutually beneficial cooperation is in the interest of both Czechoslovakia and Austria and corresponds with good-neighborly relations and traditions. They also stressed that there exist the necessary prerequisites for its further development in the spirit of the conclusions adopted during the talks between the highest state representatives of the two countries in Vienna last November.

HONECKER GREETS MOZAMBIQUE ON NATIONAL DAY

AU280759 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 25/26 Jun 83 pp 1, 2

[ND report: "GDR Firm on the Side of the People's Republic of Mozambique: Erich Honecker's Greetings on National Day"]

[Text] Berlin (ND) -- Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, has sent the following congratulatory telegram to Marshal Samora Moises Machel, president of the Frelimo Party and of the People's Republic of Mozambique:

Very esteemed Comrade Samora Moises Machel:

On behalf of the SED Central Committee and of the GDR State Council and people, as well as on my own behalf, I convey to you, the Frelimo Party Central Committee, the People's Republic of Mozambique, and the friendly Mozambique people, cordial congratulations and fraternal greetings on the occasion of the eighth anniversary of the proclamation of the People's Republic of Mozambique. Under the leadership of their combat-tested vanguard, the Mozambique people are implementing the important decisions of the 4th Frelimo Party Congress. In this struggle for building a new life and for repulsing the criminal aggressive acts of the South African racist regime, the GDR reassures the fraternally linked People's Republic of Mozambique of its solidarity and support.

The fact that we have a loyal and reliable ally in the struggle for peace, disarmament, and detente in the People's Republic of Mozambique gives us particular satisfaction. In view of the confrontational and stepped-up arms policy of the most aggressive imperialist quarters, the joint actions of our states and of all the forces pledged to peace throughout the world are gaining increasingly greater significance. I am convinced that the relations between our parties, states, and peoples will also further develop and consolidate in the future on the stable basis of the Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation.

Distinguished Comrade President, I wish you good health, creative vigor, and personal well-being in your responsible activity for the well-being of the Mozambique people, and for the preservation of peace.

REPRESENTATIVES OF NVA AND PARTY WORKERS MEET

AU301330 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 29 Jun 83 p 3

[Rainer Funke report: "In the Service of Peace Always Vigilant and Combat-Ready; Secretariat of the Political Main Administration of the National People's Army (NVA) Consults With Party Workers"]

[Summary] At a meeting of the Secretariat of the NVA Political Main Administration with party and political workers of the NVA, the GDR border troops, and civil defense on 28 June to evaluate the Sixth Central Committee plenum, Colonel General Heinz Kessler, deputy minister of national defense and head of the NVA Political Main Administration, stressed that the essence of being a soldier is to contribute to peace and to militarily safeguard the further construction of socialism. Kessler praised the achievements of the commanders, leading organs, and troops in past months.

"After a detailed analysis of the aggravated military-political situation in the world, the speaker oriented the political organs and party organizations of the Armed Forces on a higher efficiency of the political work. The purposeful and systematic deepening of the Marxist-Leninist ideology and the convincing discussion of the military policy of the party remains of decisive importance." The speaker stressed that the demand for higher fighting strength and combat readiness in the service of peace is today and in the future more urgent than ever before, underlining in this connection the importance of increasing the daily work and the trustful talk with Army members, border soldiers, and civilian employees.

Working groups discussed many experiences of a more efficient ideological work in the Armed Forces and Lieutenant Colonel Gerd Werner reported on the successful work of the NVA members at the side of the Soviet Army and other fraternal armies in the "Soyuz 83" maneuvers, and others stressed the importance of guaranteeing revolutionary vigilance and readiness for performance.

GDR, POLISH UNITS BEGIN JOINT COMBAT TRAINING

LD071409 East Berlin Voice of GDR Domestic Service in German 1200 GMT 7 Jul 83

[Text] Fighter units of the National People's Army and the Polish Army today began joint combat training which is to last several days. During the first exercise, pilots from the Krakow and Wladimir Komarow squadrons made flights at various heights and practiced intercepting flying targets. In the next few days, landings on shortened runways, and further comparisons of performance are planned, among other things.

Engineering personnel and party and youth functionaries of the troop units will also be exchanging experiences. The twin squadrons have so far fulfilled all the combat tasks assigned to them within the duty system of the Warsaw Pact states.

AXEN MEETS AMITY GROUPS' REPRESENTATIVES

LD050644 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1919 GMT 04 Jul 83

[Text] Berlin, 4 Jul (ADN) -- "Messages of greetings to the people and state leadership of the GDR", have been issued by the representatives of friendship societies with the GDR. At the end of their 3-day visit in Berlin they had a friendly meeting on Monday evening with Hermann Axen, Politburo member, secretary of the SED Central Committee, and chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee in the GDR People's Chamber. The president of the French-GDR Friendship Society, Professor Georges Castellan, conveyed the greetings message to him. He said that the friends of the GDR are deeply moved by their reception in the GDR. They, therefore, were inspired to express their feelings of friendship in a message to the GDR's leading representatives and the people, which has been signed personally by representatives from 52 countries.

Hermann Axen conveyed the thanks of Erich Honecker, chairman of the GDR Council of State, for the message of greetings and said: "Our country's citizens and the state leadership of the GDR are following with great interest your untiring efforts for peace, understanding, and friendship between states." This activity, which brings peoples together, plays a greater, more responsible role today in that the most aggressive imperialist circles are escalating the course of confrontation and arms drive. In view of this, the appeal of the Moscow summit of socialist countries points to a clear way out of the aggravated international situation.

Hermann Axen made the assurance: "The GDR, as a bastion of peace and socialism is the heart of Europe, fulfills its historic mission: to do everything to ensure that war shall never again emanate from German soil." He appealed to the guests to jointly counter the aggravation of confrontation with the will for peaceful coexistence.

At a cocktail party afterward, President of the Italian-GDR Friendship Society, Senator Professor Tullia Romagnoli Carettoni, thanked him for the warm hospitality received in the GDR.

ANGOLAN ENERGY MINISTER MEETS CHEMICAL MINISTER

MB020918 Luanda Domestic Service in English 0500 GMT 2 Jul 83

[Text] In the frame work of his personal visit to the GDR, Pedro van Dunem, minister of energy and petroleum of the People's Republic of Angola, met with Guenther Wyschofsky, minister for chemical industry of the GDR, in Berlin the day before yesterday. During the meeting the two ministers analyzed matters of common interest regarding cooperation in the field of chemical industry, and later they made a brief visit to the [word indistinct] chemical scheme where they studied the possibilities of refining oil and the importance of obtaining other products derived from hydrocarbons.

The Angolan minister also met with Wolfgang Rauchfuss, chairman of the Angola-GDR Joint Economic Committee, with whom he discussed economic-related problems.

GDR-PDRY DELEGATIONS HOLD CONSULTATIONS

Political Discussions

LD250446 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1707 GMT 24 Jun 83

[Text] Berlin 24 Jun (ADN) -- Political consultations have taken place in Berlin between GDR and PDRY delegations. They were led by Gerd Koenig, candidate member of the SED Central Committee and deputy minister of foreign affairs, and Mahmud Ahmad an-Najashi, deputy secretary for international relations of the Central Committee of the Yemeni Socialist Party.

Both sides agreed that the struggle against the stationing of new American medium-range missiles represented a significant contribution to securing peace in Europe and in the world. In view of the renewed deterioration of the situation in the Middle East, they declared their full solidarity with the PLO and all Arab forces which were resolutely resisting the dangerous plans of the United States and Israel, and they called for the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of the Israeli aggressor troops from Lebanon.

During the course of the talks, which took place in a friendly and open atmosphere, the further development of bilateral relations on the basis of the Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation was discussed. On Friday the PDRY delegation acquainted itself with questions relating to the realization of the decisions of the 6th plenary meeting of the SED Central Committee in enterprises in the Rostock Bezirk.

Industrial Talks

AU290908 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 24 Jun 83 p 2

[Text] Berlin (ADN) -- A delegation from the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen headed by 'Abd al-Qadir Ba Jammal, minister of industry, is in Berlin for consultations.

In talks with Rolf Kersten, GDR minister for construction of heavy machinery and equipment, and Horst Soelle, GDR minister for foreign trade, questions of further deepening cooperation between the two countries on the basis of the long-term agreement and the program on economic and scientific-technological cooperation till 1985 were discussed.

CORRECTION ON GDR BORDER GUARD ESCAPE TO FRG

The following correction pertains to the brief headlined "Border Guard Escapes to FRG," published in the 6 Jul Eastern Europe DAILY REPORT, page E 3:

The missing processing indicator and sourceline should read: [Text] [Hamburg DPA in German 1018 GMT 5 Jul 83 LD]

BRIEFS

COOPERATION WITH SPAIN -- The session of the working group for industrial cooperation of the GDR-Spain joint government commission ended in Madrid on Friday with the signing of a joint work program for 1983-84. The program contains specific measures for the continuous development of economic and industrial cooperation. In their activities, which comprise the joint establishment of industrial plants in third countries, both sides are proceeding from the premise that such cooperation is not only economically advantageous for the participating parties but at the same time also constitutes a contribution to continuing the policy of detente. The GDR delegation was led by Kurt Ullrich, main department head in the Foreign Trade Ministry, the delegation of the Kingdom of Spain, by Alfredo Rambla, director general in the Ministry of Industry and Energy. [Text] [East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 11/12 Jun 83 p 2 AU]

TECHNOLOGICAL NEWS ROUNDUP -- The Freiburg Fuel Institute and the Weimar Hydroengineering Enterprise have jointly developed a new suction dredge for rapid access to underground conduits in need of repair. The new dredge even removes bricks and cobblestones by suction while leaving the underground conduits intact. [Summary] [East Berlin Domestic Service in German 1500 GMT 30 Jun 83 DW] Scientists of the Dresden High Vacuum Enterprise and of the Ernst Moritz Arndt University in Greifswald have jointly developed a new technology under which an extremely wear resistant titanium nitride finish can be applied to highly productive tools by means of vacuum. Industrial utilization of the new process in the GDR has been initiated, and licenses and installations have already been sold to Japan. [Summary] [East Berlin Domestic Service in German 1500 GMT 29 Jun 83 DW] The Alternberg Tin Smelting Plant has started operations of a new ore mill which will help enhance production since the amount of tin contained in the ore extracted in the Erzgebirge mountains amounts to a mere 0.3 percent. With the help of the new mill the ore dressing operations can be increased by about 600 tons a month, the equivalent of about three extra tons of tin for the economy. [Summary] [East Berlin Domestic Service in German 1500 GMT 29 Jun 83 DW]

COUNCIL OF MINISTERS 7 JUL MEETING REPORTED

LD072333 Budapest MTI in English 1729 GMT 7 Jul 83

[Text] Budapest, July 7 (MTI) -- At this Thursday session the Hungarian Council of Ministers approved a report on the meeting of the party and state leaders of seven European socialist countries, held in Moscow on June 28.

A report on the 106th session of the CMEA Executive Committee was also approved and the Economic Committee commissioned with implementation of the recommendations adopted.

The Council of Ministers discussed and approved reports on the Moscow session of the Hungarian-Soviet Inter-Governmental Economic and Technical-Scientific Cooperation Committee, and the Budapest session of the Hungarian-Korean Economic and Scientific-Technical Inter-Governmental Consulting Committee.

The government heard a report on the official visit to Hungary of the premier of the Republic of Turkey, Bulent Ulusu.

The Council of Ministers heard an interim report submitted by the government committee investigating the causes of the mine disaster at Markushegy, approved measures taken so far, instructed the continuation of the investigation and delegation of responsibility and ordered stricter control of compliance with labor safety provisions in all mines of the country.

KADAR SPEAKS AT 7 JUL PPR PRESIDIUM SESSION

LD072305 Budapest MTI in English 1749 GMT 7 Jul 83

[Text] Budapest, July 7 (MTI) -- The Presidium of the National Council of the Hungarian Patriotic People's Front held a session on July 7, in which Janos Kadar, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, informed the front Presidium of the July 6 session of the HSWP CC.

CUBAN VICE PRESIDENT DOMENECH ARRIVES FOR VISIT

LD051618 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1300 GMT 5 Jul 83

[Text] Cuban Vice President Joel Domenech, who is also chairmen of the Energy Committee, has arrived in Budapest. He will hold talks with officials, including Laszlo Kapolyi, secretary of state for industry, and will visit several Hungarian energy projects.

LOSONCZI, LAZAR RECEIVE OUTGOING INDIAN ENVOY

LD071955 Budapest MTI in English 1741 GMT 7 Jul 83

[Text] Budapest, July 7 (MTI) -- Vinay Kumar Verma, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the union of India, has paid a farewell visit to Pal Losonczi, president of the Hungarian Presidential Council; Gyorgy Lazar, chairman of the Council of Ministers and Antal Apro, president of the National Assembly, respectively, before leaving Budapest at the end of his term.

GOVERNMENT GROUPS DISCUSS SELF-MANAGEMENT

LD062134 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1600 GMT 6 Jul 83

[Text] Representatives from the Council of State, the Sejm Presidium, the Office of the Council of Ministers and the Sejm Extraordinary Commission for Consideration of the Draft Law on People's Councils and Regional Self-Managements met with representatives from the Executive Committee Presidium of the National Council of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth [PRON] in the Sejm building. The fundamental assumptions of the next version of the draft law were discussed with particular attention being paid to amendments which have been brought about on the basis of proposals put forward by the PRON Provisional Council. Additional comments were voiced during the course of the discussion and will be examined by the extraordinary commission. This discussion began a session which will go on for several days. Individual articles of the draft will be considered separately.

It was decided that the people's councils, together with the self-managements of towns and villages, will create a system of regional self-management. In accordance with the spirit of the draft, as representative organs of state authority and basic organs of social self-management, the people's councils will also be organs of the population's regional self-management. The independent activities of these organs are to be subordinate to the Sejm and protected by the supervision of the Council of State.

PRIVATE, PUBLIC SECTOR HOUSING RATES TO INCREASE

LD062108 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1600 GMT 6 Jul 83

[Text] Beginning 1 October this year rents for apartments and utility premises in (?rented) buildings will be raised both in the public and private sector. The reasons and motives behind this rise were the subject of a press conference at the Government Press office.

It was stated that the current level of rents for these premises is unjust from the social point of view, as well as being economically unjustified, since the rates, which have not been amended for a dozen or so years, do not even cover the costs for the exploitation of so-called council apartments. The fixing of a so-called basic rate per square meter is envisaged at Z6 which, depending on the standard of the apartment, may be lowered or raised between Z4.20 and Z13.20. The rent reform will be gradually carried out in three phases: this year and during 1984 and 1985. For the poorest families nonrepayable financial aid will be allotted for the partial coverage of council house rents.

ARTICLE ON ANTISOCIALIST ELEMENTS IN LITERATURE

Part I

AU011415 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 29 Jun 83 pp 4, 5

[Marcin Kowalski article: "Literary Men and Literature in the Antisocialist Opposition"; first installment]

[Excerpts] It is necessary to recall the basic facts about the recent past; otherwise, it is impossible to explain the circumstances behind the fact that some Polish writers have gradually assumed the position of opponents of our cultural reality and have established a front of opposition against taking part in socialist cultural life.

At the source of the crisis and the break with socialism, we find an unprecedented involvement in interpreting history and in the way introduced by the cultural revolution in Poland. Maybe this seems a paradox. History as it was then understood was supposed to become more and more splendid all the time, and progress was to be achieved by means of battle against opposing elements. The correct choice of interpretation guaranteed membership on the proper side because the laws of history seemed to be unshakable, and the personality cult seemed to be all-powerful. Art was supposed to be a faithful portrayal of the great days gone by and a realistic presentation of the time of victory, so everything that interfered with the above aim was ruthlessly combated.

The memorable reports of Adam Wazyk and Mieczyslaw Jastrun from the Krakow literary congress in 1945 were the earliest forecast that literature would shape itself into descriptive realism and that a steadfast battle would commence against the literary avant-garde (which was particularly suspect because it was a revolutionary avant-garde for political reasons), against psychologism, moralism, creationism, and catastrophism; and against the heritage of modern art, which the Polish defenders of Lukacs regarded as an artistic equivalent of the breakdown of capitalism in the socioeconomic sphere.

These were times of critical commentaries and articles by Jan Kott, Ryszard Matuszewski, Kazimierz Brandys, Jerzy Andrzejewski, Wiktor Woroszylski, and others. This was the time when literature put on revolutionary-democratic cloak, with which clever young learned people from the community of Marxist interpreters clothed the literary tradition. The Institute of Literary Research during the youth of Maria Janion, Maria Zmigrodzka, Jerzy Ziomek, Roman Zimand, and others also represented this revolutionary-democratic image. And this was also a time when writers openly underwent conversion and expressed hysterical self-criticism, while the entire riches of creativity were placed on the altar of history as a burnt offering, as in the case of Jerzy Andrzejewski, or false artistic views connected with imperialist-fascist provocation were expressed, as in the case of Adam Wazyk. And finally, it was a time of sensitivity toward and ceaseless concern for young writers who embodied the future and hopes of Polish literature -- Wiktor Woroszylski, Tadeusz Konwicki, Arnold Slucki, Andrzej Mandalian, bards of the youth movement, defenders of hard and merciless authority, glorifiers of beetroot fields and of bricklaying contests.

Years later, Kazimierz Brandys, one of the main heroes of that era, told Radio Free Europe that "it was a difficult time for me and one difficult to bear." But: "Many writers nevertheless still suffered illusions and lived as if in a state of internal confusion, in other words, they put forward certain arguments in favor of the socialist system in Poland and yet were aware at the same time that the system is evil and that its methods are savage. There was a lot of worrying then, but -- as I have said -- there was still hope that matters would improve" (Radio Free Europe on 29 March 1983).

The literary opposition movement reached a turning point in 1976 with the establishment of KOR [Social Self-Defense Committee]. The following writers played an eminent programmatic role in this new and, as it would turn out later, influential and efficient organization: Jerzy Andrzejewski, Stanislaw Baranczak, Anka Kowalska, Jan Jozef Lipski, and others. A year later, in 1977, the periodical ZAPIS came out, a "literary quarterly for independent literary people," sponsored by Jerzy Andrzejewski, Kazimierz Brandys, Tadeusz Konwicki, Stanislaw Baranczak, and Jerzy Ficowski, among others. KOR's political inspiration brought still more organizational and cultural results: the independent publishing house Nowa was established, run by KSS-KOR member Miroslaw Chojecki.

Kazimierz Brandys recalled with emotion the following in a program broadcast by the Voice of America on 27 January 1982: "My cooperation with Nowa was one of the most interesting periods of my life, both literary and personal life. I met people much younger than myself, wonderful people, clever, incredibly intelligent, and enterprising." It is young, clever people who flooded the country with antisocialist, anticommunist, and anti-Soviet literature during the seventies and during the post-August 1980 crisis. And they did this not only with printed matter of a literary nature, but above all with essays and articles manipulating history and forcing into young people's heads the false ideological ideas of Orwell, Herling-Grudzinski, Czapski, Soviet dissidents, Polish Sovietologists like Andrzej Drawicz, and Polish Germanophiles like Jan Jozef Lipski. They also disseminated biased pictures of Polish reality such as Czeslaw Milosz's "Umysl Zniewolony" ["Enslaved Mind"], paving the way for a conserative revolution in which Solidarity activists waited to transform the protest of the Polish workers' class.

The emergence of underground literature and its support by such writers as Jan Jozef Szczepanski, Andrzej Kijowski, Julian Stryjkowski, Joanna Kulmowa, Andrzej Braun, Marian and Kazimierz Brandys, Jacek Bochenski (the organizer of Nowa and its inspirational ideologist), Jerzy Andrzejewski, Jerzy Ficowski, Anna Kamienska, Stefan Kisielewski, Tadeusz Konwicki, Marek Nowakowski, Andrzej Szczypiorski, Barbara Sadowska, and Wiktor Woroszylski; by former New Wave idols Stanislaw Baranczak, Adam Zagajewski, and Ryszard Krynicki; and by learned people like Maria Janion, Andrzej Drawicz, Jan Jozef Lipski, and Wladyslaw Bienkowski, all of whom formed at the same time the pillar of the Society for Scientific Courses -- was a noticeable cultural event and achieved the much-desired political effect of breaking up literary life, its internal disintegration, and strong pressure from the controlling bodies who described themselves as "free" but were really subject to Western and Polish centers of antisocialist views.

Culture in Poland, and especially Polish literature, became an area where the main ideological outlines of the coup against socialism were prepared. An assessment of the shortcomings of our cultural policy, which indeed worsened the quality of the cultural life of Poles, led to the formulation of arguments calling for political battle (expressed by Stanislaw Baranczak, Maria Janion, and Anna Kamienska), and to accusations of harming culture (voiced by the above writers, plus Andrzej Kijowski and Stefan Kisielewski). Soviet literature was written about, but only to create anti-Russian and anti-Soviet moods, which was the aim of Andrzej Drawicz.

In an atmosphere of hysterical accusations, rumors, demagogy, and loud terror, the antisocialist opposition gained a victory at the elections during the 21st General Congress of the Union of Polish Writers [ZLP] in December 1980. A nationalistically and anti-Soviet-minded moderator of national education became union chairman, and he assured everyone that he would be equally just to all the different orientations within the union, though he did not protest against the paragraphs in the statute which restrict the electoral powers of party members who occupy political or government positions and take away the right to vote from chairmen of union branches outside Warsaw who are, as he later described, "excessively party-minded."

Other distinguished warriors of the "democratic opposition," veterans of the battle against socialist culture and its declared opponents, also joined the Main Administration: Andrzej Kijowski, Jan Jozef Kipski, Andrzej Szczypiorski, Kazimierz Orlos, Anka Kowalska, Stefan Kisielewski, Marek Nowakowski, and others. Writers bearing party membership cards also joined, but -- as Jan Jozef Szczepanski put it -- they joined as private persons and not as party trustees and mouthpieces of the opinions of party writers. The chairman did not voice any restrictions concerning KOR members, nor concerning activists inside Nowa and in the Society of Scientific Courses, which are structures of opposition affiliated with KSS-KOR.

Nor did he protest when a Solidarity representative, Seweryn Jaworski, announced a censorship on all works except those published by the Nowa publishing house, which was approved by the fascistic circles of Solidarity.

During talks at the Central Committee Cultural Department concerning the reactivation of the ZLP, the Main Administration, presenting itself as political and legalistic, set up a special "bench of lecturers" consisting of tried-and-tested "friends of the people" and spokesmen of KOR-style workers' interests, like Tomasz Burek, Andrzej Drawicz, Kazimierz Orlos, Michal Glowinski, Marek Nowakowski, Andrzej Kijowski, Stefan Kisielewski, and Piotr Wierzbicki. They were meant to infiltrate workers' circles, give talks, and participate in meetings organized by "commissions for cooperation with trade unions." But in fact they limited their work to activity for the sake of Solidarity, with whom a special agreement on cooperation was ceremoniously signed during the first round of the Gdansk talks.

The Main Administration also gave its full support to the Coordinating Committee of the Creative and Scientific Associations, which, as we know, was the central baton conducting all work aimed at setting up a managing center for culture and science independent of the state. The establishment of alternative bodies for administering culture separate from the state, the formulation of antisocialist cultural policy, efforts to transfer the powers of state patronage to "public" patronage spoken about extensively by Andrzej Kijowski at the Polish Cultural Congress in December 1981, the formation of cultural agreements beyond state participation -- all this was a fragment of the anarchosyndicalistic "independent republic." ZLP adherents in the filmmakers' community, such as Andrzej Werner and Michal Komar, supported similar ideas in the Committee for the Salvation of Cinematography. Degrading and intimidating opponents was meant to be the responsibility of a special commission for investigating harm done to writers and to literature in general, a sort of extraordinary tribunal before which anyone whose thoughts were different from those of the professional warriors for freedom, liberals, and democratic opposition members fighting a planned and systematic battle against socialism were supposed to stand. Both Michal Komar and Anna Kamienska gave their opinions on this tribunal at the 21st congress.

So the suspension of the ZLP was not the straightforward result of the protest actions against the introduction of martial law (Kazimierz Brandys gave a fuller account of them in a Voice of America broadcast on 27 January 1982), but the natural consequence of the political situation which emerged inside the ZLP in 1980-81 and whose shape was determined by the activists in the democratic opposition. This is what the author of "Wariacje Pocztowe" [Postal Variations], a little work which the antisocialist opposition made the daily reading matter of the Polish schoolboy by placing it on the list of books to be read besides other works by the same author, said on 13 December, the day on which socialism in Poland was saved from a counterrevolutionary coup: "I believe history will judge this day as an attempt to strangle Polish democracy and as an attempt to smother the social forces which support democracy and independence." This supporter of democracy and independence and others like him did not comment on the Radom talks, during which an alleged descendant of the Byzantine emperors, a new 20th century Valens, said that he would exchange punches [targanie po szczekach], and a historian said that "this battle will be their last." They failed to see the clericalization of moods and attitudes, failed to oppose chauvinism, and did not fear a return of capitalism. Besides, who could have known that years later Kazimierz Brandys would turn out to be a camouflaged Pilsudski supporter and a radical socialist at the same time, and who could have foreseen that the liberals would transform themselves into adherents of final solutions concerning world politics (like Andrzej Kijowski)? Who could imagine that Andrzej Szczypiorski would want to assume the authority which was allegedly lying in Polish streets waiting to be picked up? Who could have imagined in his wildest dreams that former allies would renounce their faith and who could have described which way their loyalties in world outlook would turn? A person could indeed drift wherever he chose in the Poland of those days.

Part II

AU051420 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 30 Jun 83 p 4

[Marcin Kowalski article in the "Views" column: "Writers and Literature in Antisocialist Opposition", second and last installment]

[Excerpts] After 13 December 1981 the domestic centers of antisocialist literary opposition were shattered, although never to the end. It is true that some of the most militant activists were interned (this caused a surge of protests and petitions addressed to the Western governments, literary organizations, and Pen clubs in the West by those members of the Polish Writers Union who were abroad, including Kazimierz Brandys, Stanislaw Baranczak, who was especially active in mounting anti-Polish actions, Tymoteusz Karpowicz, who was in the United States, and others), but the basic leading groups did survive and began to work to have the union reinstated as early as the beginning of 1982. However, at that time as well as during the talks in March, April, and June of this year the declarations made by the Polish Writers Union that it was innocent, loyal, and full of goodwill were countered by demands that it should agree that it was necessary to liquidate the diktat of antisocialist groups in the Main Administration of the union and its commissions.

Let us be fair. The Main Administration, which was aware of the "good and the bad," found it most difficult to dodge and avoid answering the question of how to eliminate the influence of antisocialist opposition from its ranks. This question applied to most of its members and to many advocates of reinstatement. In high circles this question would be termed inelegant, and in plebeian circles it would be compared to the proverb that you do not mention the rope in a household where someone has hanged himself. However, things had to be talked over. The Polish Writers Union could not begin its activities without the necessary internal adjustments and changes and without laying down new and clear lines of action in a reality which presents the implementation of the program of the union's creative and professional tasks as an area of its work. These lines would be laid down by the resolutions adopted by members of the union's bodies.

The negotiators representing the union's Main Administration were absolutely afraid to formulate any guarantees to ensure that the union's work would be in accordance with the laws. Using legal tricks and misty democratic phraseology, they continued to refuse to pledge that they would clearly state in the preamble of their union's activities that the country's legal and constitutional order would be observed. It was precisely on this point that the statutory regulations were most frequently violated because large sections of the union members and of the members of the Main Administration engaged and continue to engage in antisocialist activities in the country and abroad.

The demand made by the All-Poland Conference of Party Writers on 25 February 1983 that the Main Administration of the Polish Writers Union should take a stand on such activities by the leading and rank-and-file members of the union was rejected.

Jan Szczepanski, chairman of the Main Administration, his deputies, and his closest aides said that the proposals made in this connection and in connection with laying down a new policy for the union's future work and for creating conditions that would favor the organization of a new congress in the spirit of coalition and conciliation, where a violation of the union's democracy and typical pluralism, in which there is -- in their view -- room for cooperation with emigre and domestic subversive centers and emigre antisocialist publications, which -- it is obvious -- they see as independent and democratic cultural institutions.

Many people work for radio stations, J. Szczepanski once said with a straight face, so why blame Zdzislaw Najder? The criteria of political evaluations are changeable.

Besides, J. Szczepanski said during the talks on 10 April, the situations in which different political choices are made will always exist. Because the state does not want to legalize the opposition, certain issues will always be dealt with beyond the pale of legalism, and the Polish Writers Union has to create favorable opportunities for this. Andrzej Braun went further and commented on J. Szczepanski's thesis to the effect that there is no imperative obliging a writer to take the side of the authorities in the conditions of social collisions. He said that no code lays down what a writer may or may not write, suggesting that this is a professional privilege existing outside of what is regarded as good and evil and outside of social obligations and conventions.

The talks on the subject of reinstating the Polish Writers Union were not only difficult, but fruitless as well. If anyone was really interested in preserving the union, then it was primarily the authorities and the party writers, whose representatives conducted extensive explanatory actions to carry through their arguments. We should bear in mind that the negotiators from the Main Administration of the union were not ready for any compromise. On the contrary, they asked for concessions along the entire front and for the recognition of the legal and political foundations of their activities, without restrictions, conditions, and explanatory discussions. Even when they were permitted to meet on 15 June 1983 they did not meet because they did not want to give the impression to the domestic and foreign opposition that they had made any concessions at all. Once again they rejected a chance of initiating a dialogue and accord.

The strategy of the Main Administration's conduct is completely in line with the programmatic rules created by the Paris KULTURA, that is, to preserve the Polish Writers Union as an institution of so-called independent culture, which is capable of promoting and updating the ideology of the antisocialist forces in People's Poland, especially in creative communities, or to bring about a liquidation of the union to create the possibilities for intensifying attacks on the cultural policy of the PPR. Stabilization and normalization is to be viewed as the smothering of cultural development, as the "gagging of the volcano," and as an attempt to make literature a servant of the state. That is why the union's negotiators showed so much toughness and hardness in refusing to modify their own position in any way.

Socialist cultural policy is open and this "openness" is not "window dressing," as Kazimierz Brandys ironically remarked. It is being reaffirmed by the publication of works, provided they do not overstep the limits of this opening and do not come out against the political and constitutional principles of the country in which they are going to be read and provided they possess the necessary artistic standards. The domestic publishers will not make any concessions to Kazimierz Orlos or Marek Nowakowski (at the present level of their creative work). The literature that is entangled in the adventures with the Western patrons and in the domestic and foreign antisocialist opposition must comprehend and think over these opportunities.

The road for a return is open. A dialogue and accord are possible when the political results of the activities that the opposition has conducted and continues to conduct are rationally evaluated by it. This self-evaluation is bound to lead to a radical revaluation of positions and to the recognition of the principles of socialist cultural policy.

PZPR CONTROL COMMISSION DISCUSSES ABUSES

AU301355 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 28 Jun 83 pp 1-2

[Izabella Wajszczuk report: "Plenum of the Central Party Control Commission -- Against Bad Management and Waste"]

[Excerpts] The ninth plenum of the Central Party Control Commission, which was held in Warsaw on 27 June, was devoted to the tasks of party control commissions in the struggle against all features of bad management and waste. Jerzy Urbanski, chairman of the commission, was in the chair.

The report, drawn up by the commission's presidium and read by Wladyslaw Beben, deputy chairman of the commission, recalled once again that "there is no alternative to the program of thrift. We will not heave ourselves rapidly from our crisis if we fail to eliminate the waste of energy and raw materials and to improve job discipline and labor productivity."

With the help of our experience in this regard, the report continued, we want to promote our activities in such a way as to increase each party member's sense of responsibility for a rational and thrifty management in his own sector. The 10th plenum resolutions stressed the need for this and singled out improvements in economic management as the top task of the efforts to overcome the crisis and to promote a gradual economic development.

As we know, the National Socioeconomic Plan for 1983-85 provides for consolidating these development trends and for a steady increase in national income, which in 1985 should be 10-12 percent higher than in 1982. This will help us to gradually restore economic balance, improve the supplies of basic goods for the population, increase housing construction and the construction of technical and social infrastructure, and thus gradually improve living standards. However, the implementation of these tasks will be difficult because our potential to increase the supplies of fuels, energy, and raw materials and, especially, to import these materials and energy, is limited. This is why the conservation of what we have is a vital necessity and the indispensable condition for overcoming the crisis and consolidating development trends.

The implementation of conservation tasks should be helped by the implementation of the economic reform because the economic mechanisms of this reform create conditions for a more rational economic management. But these mechanisms will not operate by themselves. As is always the case, it will be the people's specific attitudes, resolution, commitment, and skill of correctly reconciling the interests of the work forces with national interests that will be decisive. That is why it is necessary to propagate throughout the party and among the people the awareness that we need to be and must be thrifty and work effectively, productively, and efficiently. The conservation programs involving cuts in costs and curbs on inflationary tendencies, which have been drawn up in many plants on the initiative of primary party organizations in line with the 10th plenum instructions, attest to the scale of what we can conserve. Wherever such programs have been honestly drawn up it is evident that the individual plants can make savings running into tens and even hundreds of millions of zlotys a year.

The 12th plenum also drew attention to the importance of conservation tasks.

Activities directed against public property and the principles of correct management appear particularly dangerous in the material and moral sense in the light of those tasks.

The verdicts passed by party control commissions show that some of our members, including those in leading positions, at times participate in or passively watch these negative manifestations.

Between January 1982 and the end of last April the voivodship party control commissions examined the cases of 826 party members charged with malpractices, bad management, and waste and passed verdicts on them. Most of such cases concerned party members in leading positions.

The aforementioned figure includes 210 persons who were dismissed from the party, 397 comrades who were punished, and 219 persons who were cautioned by the teams sitting in judgment. In addition, in 157 cases these teams proposed that the persons involved should lose the party backing with regard to their positions or elected functions.

Acting on reports about bad management and waste and about connivance at them, the voivodship party control commissions carried out 1,112 cautionary talks with party members, aside from the action taken by the teams sitting in judgment. These cautionary talks were meant as preventive measures and as a means of eliminating or preventing various irregularities of economic management.

Primary control commissions are also countering with increasing frequency the negative manifestations in question.

Some party control commissions fail to demonstrate the necessary response to the press, television, and radio reports on negative manifestations. This is a very important issue because such reports must not escape our response, especially when they involve party members. The features of nepotism in rural areas and in agricultural service institutions are not being adequately combated.

We should note that, generally speaking, party control commissions respond only to the cases in which party members are guilty of abuses or waste. They very rarely note the fact that the managements of the plants and institutions in which abuses and waste take place are to blame for them to a great extent. These managements include party members who are responsible for law and order and who have been entrusted with public property.

Now must we tolerate the unconcern and irresponsibility of those managements of plants, institutions, and cooperatives which in their reports on the implementation of post-control recommendations stress that the necessary action has been taken, although subsequent control checks reveal the same bad management and waste.

We must be aware of the fact that the dangers asserting themselves in our economic life make it necessary for the party and its control commissions to wage a resolute and effective struggle against all negative manifestations which hinder and delay the progress of our economy.

Each manifestation of economic degeneration and every case of social injustice must be met by the immediate objection and necessary response on the part of our control commissions.

The observance of social justice calls for particular sensitivity. Party control commissions should resolutely react to every case in which social justice is violated, especially when it is violated by a party member.

The action line which we are formulating at this plenum is a result of the 10th and 12th plenum resolutions, which clearly state that our economic activities are acquiring -- as never before -- the character of a political struggle. We must do all we can to win this struggle.

The plenum of the Central Party Control Commission adopted a resolution which reads:

The plenum approves the report's evaluations and conclusions, as well as the tasks stemming from them for all party control commissions in the sphere of fostering a high sense of responsibility of all party members for an exemplary discharge of their working duties, especially those relating to better economic management and respect for public property.

Mindful of the present experience in implementing these tasks in the light of the 10th and 12th plenum resolutions, the Central Party Control Commission deems it most necessary to intensify the activities of all party control commissions in favor of fostering party members' militant attitudes in combating bad management, waste, and violations of the principles of socialist social justice.

The Central Party Control Commission enjoins party control commissions to implement more effectively and consistently the decisions resulting from the inquiries made by the bodies of state control and from the information supplied by prosecuting bodies on various economic abuses.

Party control commissions should also encourage primary party organizations to carefully discuss the results of control checks at their meetings, which should be open so that work forces can be subjected to a more extensive instruction in combating and preventing waste and other features of bad economic management.

Party control commissions must be more militant in supporting primary party organizations in their efforts to ensure that all persons responsible for the implementation of postcontrol decisions in their plants develop an honest attitude toward these decisions.

Party control commissions should use the offices of party organizations in the prosecuting bodies in order to increase the effectiveness of the struggle against waste and bad management and should inform the comrades in these bodies how their findings were exploited in party activities.

The plenum of the Central Party Control Commission states that a closer coordination of the efforts of control bodies run by the plants, the community, and the party will increase the effectiveness of combating and preventing all features of bad economic management and waste and will tighten one's responsibility for honestly implementing one's duties in every job.

LOPATKA ON NEED FOR CHURCH-STATE UNITY

AU051110 Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish 2 Jul 83 p 2

[Excerpts of Jolanta Liczbinska interview with Minister Adam Lopatka, head of the Office for Religious Affairs, published in the 11-12 June issue of GAZETA POMORSKA; date and place not given]

[Text] Not everyone is aware of the fact that Poland is a country in which dialogue has taken place between socialism and catholicism on such a large scale for the first time.

These two organizations must coexist together in one country despite the conflicting views they have on the same people.

On the one hand there is the Church, a religious organization with a traditionally expansionist attitude which has adopted the religious vocation as well as the vocation of educating its flock not only in matters of faith but also in their world outlook, while on the other hand, we have the socialist state which is based on materialist ideology that rejects all forms of idealism.

Some people are of the opinion that the state's cooperation with the Church is simply the manifestation of a strategy which will change to one of combat at the right moment. It sometimes seems that the desire to attack the state is not so completely alien to all the followers of the Church. It is possible to find people in state bodies who believe that cooperation has a strategic nature. However, these attitudes no longer have any important significance to politics in general, either for one side or the other.

In order to reach the foundations of permanence both the state and the Church must come to terms with reality. Coming to terms with the secularity of the state, in practice rather than in theory, by the Church is a modern phenomenon. Today, it must be clear to the Church that the socialist state in Poland cannot be overthrown and that its political nature must be acknowledged if only so as not to suffer defeats in the eyes of the people. The state, in turn, does not treat the Church as a transitory phenomenon, since the Church is to the state a phenomenon which will occur within the existing socialist system on an important social level as people's religious needs are relatively constant.

Imagining socialism in Poland without the Church would show an unawareness of reality in Poland. We must picture socialism along with the Catholic Church.

YOUTH DAILY COMMENTS ON RESULTS OF POPE'S VISIT

AU010920 Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 28 Jun 83 pp 1-2

[Ryszard Naleszkiewicz commentary: "After the Visit"]

[Text] Pope John Paul II's visit has been an undeniable great event not only for the majority in our society who are believers.

I do not wish to discuss the religious value of the visit for believers. A blind man could deny it, but the crowds of faithful seen on our television and all over the world do not leave any doubt as to this value.

This event has also been very important for Poland as a state which exists in a certain time and space. The first results of this visit can already be seen. Even THE WASHINGTON POST, which does not view Poland favorable, carried a subdued and honest commentary which uses the onomastics accepted in the world of politics and stresses that the views of the pope and the premier on most matters concerning peace, security, Polish sovereignty, the Western territories, work attitudes, and methods of solving thorny issues using dialogue coincide.

The result of the visit is not only a change in the attitude of the Western press toward our state leaders, but also a change in the attitude of the press toward the underground and the Solidarity problem. Western commentators are saying that a very ceremonious funeral for Solidarity as an organizational entity took place in Poland, celebrated by the pope. The pope spoke about cultivating the letter and spirit of the social agreements (the authorities say the same thing) and about maintaining the lofty ideals of social solidarity, but he never expressed his support for its underground, nor for the activity of L. Walesa.

By the way, there have also been commentaries in a similar vein concerning this case. Observers are saying that the pope did not breach Walesa's "privacy" by receiving him as a private person on a private day with the authorities' permission. Besides, this entire event was eclipsed by a sensational meeting with General Jaruzelski (the day before), which no one, either in Poland or abroad, expected. I do not know what they talked about. What is important is that the pope invited the premier to the talk and that by doing so he expressed his conviction that the general is the only person to hold serious talks with on the fate of the common country and people.

However, the pope's meeting with Walesa struck an unusual chord. The press was already reporting that Virgilio Levi, who leads the editorial staff of the OSSERVATORE ROMANO and who is deputy chief of this paper, had written an article on Walesa which bids farewell to this activist, who is "leaving the political scene, and one can say that he has lost his political battle." Having printed this article, the Vatican did an unheard-of thing, it issued an explanation that the article merely expresses V. Levi's private views. Faced with this, Levi handed in his resignation, which was accepted. He is still not at retirement age, but such an occurrence has apparently no precedent in the entire 123-year history of the papal organ. For nothing has ever appeared in it that has not been agreed on beforehand, especially when coming from such eminent pens....

The stance of OSSERVATORE ROMANO coincided with the feelings of the journalists accompanying the pope so much that the Western press has seized this interpretation.

The visit has, of course, not been a unanimous chorus of praise for the government's domestic policy. In his sermons, the pope let his different stance on particular matters be known several times. However, the visit has shown that despite various attempts, the political opposition did not succeed in provoking unrest and street disturbances. It has shown that the community contains people less and less willing to take part in scuffles, and that the stabilization process is not an invention of "regime propaganda."

Finally, President Reagan very clearly disliked the visit. Does this not prove something?

SOVIET-POLISH STEEL COMMITTEE MEETING REPORTED

LD072031 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1600 GMT 7 Jul 83

[Text] The second session of the standing Polish-Soviet working group for economic, scientific, and technological cooperation in the steel industry is being held in Katowice. The participating experts are discussing problems of the steel industry in their two countries. The schedule of supplies of basic raw materials from the Soviet Union to Poland as well as the implementation of agreements on export and import of foundry products for 1983-84 were examined.

JABLONSKI RECEIVES OUTGOING USSR AMBASSADOR

LD072022 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1900 GMT 7 Jul 83

[Text] Henryk Jablonski, chairman of the State Council, has received Soviet Ambassador to Poland Boris Aristov for a farewell audience. During the meeting the State Council chairman decorated Boris Aristov with the commandery with star of the Order of Merit of the Polish People's Republic, granted him by the State Council for his services to strengthening friendship and all-round cooperation between the two states.

CEAUSESCU ADDRESSES RCP CENTRAL COMMITTEE PLENUM

AU051700 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 1 Jul 83 pp 1, 3

[Speech by RCP Secretary General Nicolae Ceausescu to RCP Central Committee plenum in Bucharest, 30 Jun 1983]

[Text] Esteemed comrades: The RCP Central Committee plenum has discussed issues of great importance and has unanimously adopted decisions to resolutely implement the targets and tasks set forth by the 12th party congress and the national conference. In the first half of 1983 we recorded significant results in the fulfillment of the plan regarding this year's socioeconomic development. In the first half of the year industrial production increased almost 5 percent compared with the same period in 1982, thus achieving a production of more than 6 billion lei in excess of the plan.

As you can see, the working people, the party bodies and organizations, the managerial councils, the ministries, and the other central bodies have performed sustained activity enabling them to fulfill and, to a certain extent, exceed the plan provisions under favorable conditions. This demonstrates both the correctness of the plan provisions as well as the great possibilities available in industry, in the other sectors, and in our economy to increase our overall activity at a faster rate.

One can also draw the conclusion that we have all the necessary conditions to fulfill this year's plan under favorable circumstances and to achieve an additional production of at least 12 billion lei. A number of positive results have been achieved in agriculture in the first half of the current year. As is known, in the fall of 1982 and the winter and spring of 1983 we were plagued by a fierce drought. However, sustained work was performed to carry out agricultural work in time and under positive conditions. Thus, crops were able to develop appropriately. A decisive role in this year's harvest was played by the irrigation and watering of crops with various means. One can state that all peasants and working people in villages were mobilized, including children and young people who, by using all available means, ensured the irrigation and watering of large areas of crops, including those areas which have no irrigation facilities yet.

Thanks to all those measures, summer crops, although they are not up to the planned provisions, will ensure proper bread supplies for our country. We have good vegetable crops. Animal breeding production is 15 to 20 percent higher than in the same period in 1982. Following the June rainfall, the situation has improved. Favorable conditions exist for a good corn harvest and for good fall crops. At this point decisive measures are necessary to harvest crops, especially wheat, as soon as possible, without any losses. At the same time activity must be intensified to complete the secondary crop sowing in the shortest possible time in the case of corn and other plants in order to thus recoup the grain losses caused by the drought. We must ensure that this year's crops meet the plan provisions and we must ensure that agriculture makes a more important contribution to our country's general development.

Let us also perform intensive work to increase the energy and raw material base. The reports presented here prove that there has been a powerful increase especially in coal production, but also as regards other raw materials. Firm measures have been adopted to cut back on energy and raw material consumption and to save and reuse other materials.

You are familiar with those measures and the programs we have in this respect; therefore, I do not want to dwell on them. We will have to continue resolutely implementing the measures established in order to thus ensure better material-technical supplies. As I mentioned also at the March plenum and on other occasions, we must ensure 50 percent or more of the requirements of the national economy by saving and reusing numerous raw materials. This forcefully stresses the importance of resolutely implementing the measures and programs worked out in this respect.

Decisive measures are necessary to improve quality and the technical level of production. We have a modern industry with equipment matching the level of world technology, and we must take very determined action to achieve quality products in all fields that can compete with the best products in the world. I want to draw special attention to the need to achieve this goal in metallurgy, machine-building, and in chemistry. However, this applies to all sectors.

Proceeding from the unsatisfactory results of the first 2 years of the current 5-year plan and from the important role played by labor productivity, decisive measures are necessary in all fields and all units -- on the part of ministries, centrals, enterprises, working people's councils, and party bodies and organizations -- to ensure a greater increase, already this year, in labor productivity and to make the necessary preparations, even in the current year, to implement the program on more forcefully increasing labor productivity, a program that will soon be published. As I have stressed on numerous occasions, we want to achieve this through better organization of the production process and of work, and of the production flow, through mechanization, automation, and the introduction of modern methods of leading the production process, including the use of robots in various sectors where this is required to implement this goal. At the same time, it is necessary to take very determined action to cut production costs even more, particularly material expenditure. All this must lead to a more powerful increase in profitability and economic efficiency in all sectors.

The speakers at this plenum stressed both certain positive results and some shortcomings. Although only two ministers spoke, I had the impression that a certain satisfaction was noticeable with the state of affairs in the given sectors. We certainly have had positive results, comrades. However, when we consider the great possibilities of our economy, there are still many things to be done. We must understand that decisive measures are required to rapidly eliminate shortcomings and to resolutely implement the plan provisions concerning all indexes, and primarily the plan on the specific-item production, the commodity production, and quality. To implement the targets of the 12th party congress and national conference regarding a new quality of work and life, we cannot be satisfied with what we have achieved thus far:

In the field of foreign trade, taking into consideration the results achieved in the first 6 months of the current year -- results which cannot satisfy us -- it is necessary for all ministries, centrals, and enterprises to act with great determination to fulfill the production and export plan under most favorable conditions. Although we have had an active trade balance in the first half of the year amounting to more than $1 billion, this cannot satisfy us. All necessary measures have to be taken to completely fulfill the the provisions of the balance of trade and balance of payments as established in this year's plan. It is necessary for us to do all we can to intensify international economic relations and production sharing with the CEMA-member countries, the other socialist countries, with the developing countries and the developed capitalist countries, in mutually acceptable forms and on the basis of equality and mutual respect.

In the field of investments, it is necessary to take all required measures to fulfill the complete program of works and to commission all production capacities on schedule. We have scored certain achievements in this respect, too, but have also had certain setbacks and arrears. As established, those arrears must be fully made up for by the end of the year; we must complete and commission all production capacities and even exceed some of them which are envisaged for next year. We have all the possibilities available and we must mobilize all forces in all units, counties, and sectors to reach this target.

More determined action is necessary in all branches of the national economy to resolutely implement all planned indexes. Within this framework, I want to draw attention to the measures that must be taken to improve the activity in transportation, especially regarding the reduction of fuel consumption, more appropriate use of production capacities, and a reduction in transportation costs, which are high and influence general costs throughout the economy. In implementing all the established programs and measures and in fulfilling this year's plan and the overall 5-year plan, an important role is given scientific and technological research. The recent plenary session of the National Council of Science and Technology extensively discussed all these issues. Therefore, I will not now dwell on them. However, it is necessary to apply in a very determined way the measures that have been worked out because the programs on increasing productivity and improving quality and economic efficiency cannot be implemented without the firm application of new technologies and of the achievements of science in all fields.

As I have stressed on other occasions, too, greater attention must be paid to the professional and technical training of the working people in all sectors. We must openly state that certain arrears and certain shortcomings concerning quality are also the result of certain lags in the professional and technical training of the working people. Therefore, we must firmly apply the decisions on improving the professional and technical level, on retraining for reassignment and refreshing the knowledge of all working people, of technicians and engineers in all sectors, this being a decisive factor for implementing all tasks assigned us. On the basis of the results achieved thus far, we must take all necessary measures to fulfill the 1983 plan under favorable conditions and to achieve the additional production in excess of the plan I have referred to. We must not forget for a single moment that this year a decisive role in overcoming the difficulties that emerged in the first 2 years of the current 5-year plan, in the elimination of the contradictions that have appeared, and in ensuring the fulfillment of the overall 5-year plan under favorable conditions and the socioeconomic development of our socialist fatherland. Let us demonstrate through results, through facts, the strength and potential of our socialist economy, of the working class, and of all our people to overcome any difficulties and to resolutely implement the party program to build the comprehensively developed socialist society and Romania's advance toward communism! (loud, prolonged applause]

Esteemed comrades, the plenum unanimously endorsed the program and decision on the firm application of the principles of workers' self-management and self-administration, on improving the economic-financial mechanism, the labor remuneration system, and on increasing remuneration in the current 5-year plan. The decisions adopted in this respect aim at developing workers' self-management even more and at increasing the responsibility of general meetings and of the working people's councils as collective leadership bodies. Thus, we will improve the legal system regarding the working people's status as owners of part of the common property of all our people.

The basis of our socialist system is the socialist or cooperative ownership by all our people of the means of production and of the general wealth. Therefore, firm measures are required, including legal measures, to ensure the continuing security and development of this ownership. In managing part of the property belonging to all our people, each collection of working people is directly responsible for ensuring its security, for preserving and developing that property. The law establishes the responsibility of the working people's council as a collective leadership body of the given unit and thus as a body administering the common property on behalf of the entire collective. The leadership council is responsible to the general meeting and to the state of revolutionary workers democracy for the proper management of the overall activity of the given unit.

Similarly, the law establishes direct responsibilities for enterprise directors who are personally responsibile for the management of the given unit. Along these lines, responsibilities are established for ministers and directors in centrals and for managerial councils, that is, the working people's council, regarding the proper management of the property entrusted to them for administration, preservation, and development.

Proceeding from those responsibilities, we are introducing the contract-commitment concluded between the state, in its capacity as general administrator of the property of all people, and the collectives of working people in each enterprise, central, and ministry. Similarly, introduced is the individual contract-commitment to be signed by the ministers, directors in centrals, and in the given units. At the same time, workers should also sign an individual contract-commitment.

The introduction of all these documents aims at ensuring not only an increased collective responsibility, but also individual responsibility, to common property, to the country's socioeconomic development and the proper management of the material and financial means. Similarly, the principle will be introduced according to which new personnel will hold the position of associate member of the collective and only after 5 years in the same unit will they enjoy full rights within the collective of working people in the given unit; only then will they enjoy all rights and duties, including the chance to elect and be elected to the leadership bodies.

New measures are envisaged to improve the economic-financial mechanism, to strengthen workers self-management and self-administration. We must ensure that overall socioeconomic activity takes place only on the basis of the principles of profitability and maximum efficiency. In this respect, it is necessary to further increase the role of the financial system in the leadership of the economic activity.

Another set of problems concerns the expansion of the overall contract system as a major form of organizing productive activity. It is planned to improve the remuneration system by more firmly applying the socialist principle of remuneration in keeping with the quantity and quality of work performed. Income gained through work will be unlimited and income gained without performing any work will no longer be guaranteed. We will firmly apply the principle: "No work without bread, nor bread without work." In the socialist society no one can or should live without working, no one should live on the work performed by others! Those who work will receive unlimited income if it is the result of work performed! To enhance material incentive, the profit-sharing fund will be increased from 2 to 4 percent, while the bonus fund will be increased from 1 to 2 percent. The remuneration system will be improved by taking into consideration the characteristics of various sectors. Within this framework, remuneration and material incentives will be improved so as to fulfill the export production plan and export commitments.

In order to increase labor stability in the same enterprise, the extra pay for length of service is to be raised from 2.9 percent to 5 percent, differentiated according to the length of service from 3 to 15 percent, and in certain branches even to 18 percent. At the same time, in the future the extra pay for length of service is to be taken into consideration when calculating pensions. Proceeding from the need to maintain present hierarchy in branches, certain branches such as drilling, personnel working with big excavators, glass blowers and curriers will be upgraded. It should be ensured that the ratio of 1 to 5.5 is maintained in the future between the lowest and highest wages considering that for the current and future stage this ratio is fully in keeping with and ensures both the differentiation between branches and various activities and material incentives, as well as the implementation in our society of the principles of socialist ethics and equity.

In conformity with the decisions of the national conference, beginning in September 1983 all working people's wages shall be increased gradually as envisaged by the draft decision. At the end of this wage increase, that is, in the second half of 1984, real incomes will be 5 percent higher than in 1980. By the end of 1984 and in 1985 a new wage increase will take effect so that by the end of 1985 the working people's incomes will have increased 8 percent compared with 1980. In the same period, the peasants' incomes shall increase 12 percent compared with 1980. The pensions of various pensioners shall also be increased.

These measures to increase wages and the incomes of the working people can be applied only if the plan on socioeconomic development and on increasing labor productivity to a greater extent is fulfilled. All working people must understand very well that the living standard can be improved and incomes increased only if labor productivity, efficiency, and profitability are increased to a greater extent and if a general development of the national economy is achieved.

As I have repeatedly mentioned, we must constantly keep in mind that an improvement in the material and cultural living standard and an increase in incomes can be achieved only in close alignment with the general development of the forces of production and with an increase in the social product and the national income, and by taking into consideration that the means available in our society should not be completely consumed, that they must ensure both funds for the further development of the society and other requirements of the state, including defense, as well as funds for improving the material and cultural well-being of our people. Thus, it lies in our power, in the power of all working people and all our people, to implement our development programs in such a way that we will have the necessary means available to implement our general programs in all fields and to ensure the constant development of our socialist fatherland and its elevation to new peaks of civilization and progress.

The program of measures pays special attention to further improving self-management, to implementing all measures decided on by the plenum aimed at a more forceful development of workers democracy and, at the same time, at strengthening order and discipline and a sense of responsibility. We must carry out extensive political-educational work, develop the working people's socialist awareness so that they understand that to fulfill the role of leading class, to assume the role of leading the entire nation along the road of socialism and communism, requires from the working class a lofty sense of responsibility and order, as well as a lofty revolutionary awareness. We must ensure that all our peopie -- who are consciously forcing their own future -- participate in an organized manner in the management of all sectors of activity!

We must not forget for a single moment that our socialist system, the construction of the comprehensively developed socialist society and of communism, cannot be achieved without the broad participation of all our people in the leadership of the overall activity; we must never forget that socialism presupposes a broad revolutionary workers democracy, it presupposes that everything that is being achieved is achieved with the participation of the people, for the people! Only thus will we be able to ensure that the strength of our society, the unity of all our people within the Socialist Democracy and Unity Front, under the political leadership of the RCP, is further strengthened.

One can note, the entire set of measures adopted bv the plenum that was held aims at improving the forms of leadership and ways of applying the new economic mechanism. It forcefully demonstrates the working class' creative energy and the strength of our socialist system that can propose, even under the current difficult conditions in the world, the adoption of new measures aimed at ensuring the fatherland's constant progress on the road of socialism and communism and at continuously improving the material and cultural well-being of our people. (loud, prolonged applause)

Esteemed comrades, the Central Committee plenum has unanimously adopted the national program on ensuring secure and stable agricultural output by increasing the productive potential of land, by better organizing and uniformly using agricultural plots and our country's entire land area, by carrying out irrigation work on approximately 55 to 60 percent of the arable land, by drainage work, and by combating soil erosion. In working out this program, we proceeded from the party program provisions and from the 12th party congress decisions. As is well known, each year, during one or another period, drought causes very great losses in our agricultural output. On the whole, annual precipitation in approximately 50 percent of our country is lower than required for our agricultural crops. Similarly, there are large areas with excess precipitation, while other areas are affected by soil erosion.

We have carried out irrigation work on some 2.4 million hectares compared with some 203,000 hectares in 1965. Drainage work has been performed on 2.5 million hectares and we have combated soil erosion work on 1.7 million hectares. The fierce drought this spring has very clearly demonstrated the importance of irrigation and other work to increase the productive potential of land. One can state that had we not irrigated 25 percent of arable land, we would not have been able to ensure the required crops this year and would not have had the bread we need. It is therefore necessary to irrigate some 5.5 to 6 million hectares by 1988-90 and to complete our drainage work and combating of soil erosion. At the same time, we have to take a set of measures regarding terracing and territorial planning, and regarding agricultural units, in order to make use of all land with maximum efficiency. It is also necessary to proceed to cultivating grasslands and natural pastures. We must ensure that grasslands and pastures in mountainous areas are extra seeded and better tended and that at least 3 million hectares of woods are extra seeded for grazing.

All the operations envisaged in the program must be carried out in a coordinated manner, so as to make complete use of rivers, natural lakes, and reservoirs. As stated in the program, we must build major canals and reservoirs to ensure the necessary water supply. All drainage work must be reversible, so that the systems can also be used for irrigation in the case of drought. Similarly, we will have to irrigate the major vineyard and orchard areas.

The first stage of the national agricultural program will have to ensure the irrigation of about 4 million hectares by the end of 1985, which should then be cultivated in 1986. According to certain calculations, in order to achieve this vast program we will have to allocate about 100 billion lei and considerable material resources, equipment, transport means and so forth. It can be said that this program constitutes the most important project ever undertaken in our country.

The implementation of the program will secure stable and certain production in all climatic conditions. It is the only means of creating the conditions necessary for a modern and highly-productive agriculture and for implementing the new agrarian revolution. revolution.

In view of the scope of this program of national importance, special organizational measures will be required, such as the organization of a national command and country, town, and communal commands, as well as such commands in each agricultural unit. The entire peasantry, all working people in agriculture, and all our people must actively participate in implementing this program. Important tasks are planned for the youth organizations and for all our young people. At the same time, we plan to involve the army with all it forces in implementing this national program.

Endeavors to implement this program will constitute a great battle to overcome certain difficulties caused by the weather and to subdue nature. We have the potential to aim for such projects because we have great material and technical resources in our socialist society. It is clear that 10 or 15 years ago we could not have planned such a vast program

Our industry will have to manufacture all the equipment and high-capacity machinery required for the operations envisaged in the program. At the same time, the agricultural research sector will have to produce new plant strains and new technologies suitable for irrigated and secondary crops. On most of the irrigated land we must obtain two crops, and three crops of vegetables.

In view of the importance and complexity of this program, by 1990, i.e., by the completion of the program, the party, the government, and the people must fully focus on it. In fact, in view of our achievements in the socialist industrialization of the country and in developing the transport and other sectors, the areas of raw materials, energy resources, and agriculture will be at the center of all our activities.

It can be said that the implementation of this program will bring about great revolutionary changes in our territorial organization; it will undoubtedly also bring about great changes in people's mentality. We must strive to influence nature and to create the conditions for large crops whatever the circumstances; we must also act to change the people, to enhance their revolutionary spirit and their political, professional, and cultural level. Thus, the work to implement the party program in all areas and to implement this vast agricultural program should result not just in the development of the technical-material basis, but also in the comprehensive development of the society and of man; we must thus enhance the responsibility of all the people for and their democratic participation in the management of our entire society. (loud, prolonged applause) I believe that we have everything necessary for this and I am convinced that the decisions we adopted today and the agricultural program will be otpimally implemented. (loud, prolonged applause)

Esteemed comrades, we are pursuing our domestic activities amid very complex international political and economic conditions. Unfortunately, in the past few months the international situation has deteriorated and the arms race has intensified. In order to implement our socioeconomic development plan, the plenum programs, and the party program on building the comprehensively developed socialist society, we need peace. Our party and country will energetically act to halt the aggravation of the international situation, to resume and continue the policy of detente, and to solve all problems solely through negotiations.

The major problem of our times is to halt the arms race and proceed to disarmament, primarily nuclear disarmament. Nothing, no reason, can justify the arms race or new programs to develop nuclear arms and missiles! We must do everything possible to halt the deployment of U.S. intermediate-range missiles in Europe and to remove and destroy the existing ones! The states and governments that agree to the deployment of nuclear missiles on their territory assume a great responsibility to their peoples and all mankind! Instead of the deployment of additional missiles and the use of outer space for military purposes, we need programs dealing with environmental protection, the use of outer space for peaceful purposes only, and the socioeconomic development of the developing countries.

As you had an opportunity to note, the declaration of the socialist states that met recently in Moscow shows that those states have decided to intensify their efforts for disarmament and peace. You have read the declaration, and you are familiar with the stand of the RCP delegation at the meeting; hence, I will not dwell on it now.

We believe that the declaration of the socialist countries that met in Moscow meets the expectations of our people, of the peoples of the socialist countries, and of all peoples throughout the world. Through this declaration, the socialist countries that attended the meeting call upon the NATO countries to join in negotiations for disarmament and peace. The socialist countries solemnly declared that they will do everything possible to avert the danger of war and achieve disarmament, primarily nuclear disarmament, and to secure the peoples' supreme right to peace, to life, and to a free and independent existence.

On behalf of all the people, the Central Committee plenum declares that it will spare no effort and it will act responsibly so that our country can contribute to averting the danger of war and a nuclear catastrophe, for peace throughout the world. I am firmly convinced that it is possible, and indeed necessary, to prevent the deployment of more missiles in Europe. We must block the path toward the abyss, toward the nuclear chasm, before it is too late!

Socialist Romania is firmly determined to actively cooperate with all states, regardless of social system. We are acting in close solidarity with the developing countries to solve the great economic problem of underdevelopment and to establish a new world economic order.

We believe that everything possible should be done to conclude the Madrid meeting as soon as possible through the organization of a conference on confidence measures and disarmament. The problems that remain unsolved are of little importance. Far more important is that the meeting should conclude this summer and that it should adopt new measures to develop cooperation and to prepare for a conference on confidence-building and disarmament in Europe.

We advocate the establishment of nuclear-free zones, free of nuclear weapons and foreign military bases, in the Balkans and in other parts of Europe and the world. All the complex international problems and conflicts, as well as the problems of disarmament and economic problems, must be settled through negotiations.

This is in the interests of all the nations, of peace and detente, of national independence and socioeconomic progress. Thus, we believe that resolute steps should be taken to bring about the unconditional withdrawal of Israeli troops from Lebanon and to ensure Lebanon's independence and sovereignty, to solve the Palestinian problem in keeping with that people's right to self-determination and to independent statehood, and to ensure good-neighborly relations and respect for the independence and integrity of all the states in that area.

The PLO, as the sole representative of the Palestinians, must participate with equal rights in solving all the problems concerning it. Along this line -- without interfering in the internal affairs of the PLO -- I want to express our friendly concern about certain recent conflicts and to express my hope that they will soon be resolved. In the current circumstances, the PLO and the Palestinian organizations led by PLO Chairman Yasir 'Arafat must remain more united than even. The interests of the Palestinian people, of their right to self-determination, and of a just peace in the Middle East must be placed above everything else. The RCP is determined to strengthen its cooperation with all the communist and workers parties, with socialist, social democratic, and other democratic and anti-imperialist parties and organizations. Strengthening the cooperation and solidarity of all those forces and of all anti-imperialist forces is decisively important for solving the grave international problems and for the policy of peace, detente, and independence.

The Romanian people highly appreciate the great peace movements in Europe and in other continents, and are determined to participate with all their strength in the struggle for disarmament and peace.

We are firmly convinced that by acting in close cooperation and unity, the peoples can prevent a nuclear war, can impose disarmament, primarily nuclear disarmament, and can ensure the peace, independence, and freedom of all mankind. (loud, prolonged applause)

Esteemed comrades, in order to implement the decisions and the programs of socioeconomic development in our country we must more markedly increase the leading role of the party in all sectors. For that, we must improve and enhance the role of each party organization and of all town, communal, and county party organizations in uniting the working people. We must take resolute steps to further improve labor organization and strengthen supervision over and responsibility for the implementation of decisions. All party bodies and organizations must intensify their political-educational actions to shape the new man, to raise socialist consciousness, and to unite all the working people in the work and struggle to optimally implement the plan for 1983 and the entire 5-year plan.

At the last session of the Political Executive Committee we adopted the socioeconomic development plan for 1984-85. The plan will be discussed and finalized in all units, and will then be debated at the general meetings scheduled for September-October. After finalization, it will be debated by the party Central Committee plenum, by the Supreme Council of Socioeconomic Development, and, of course, by the Grand National Assembly. You will soon be apprised of the plan provisions for the next 2 years of the 5-year plan, which envisaged increased tasks in all sectors, physical production, net production and production goods, as well as increased synthetic [sintetic] and general indexes that I will not now repeat.

All the counties must examine the potential of each unit since, despite the increased plan provisions, there are still untapped resources. Comrades, along these lines I want to give only one example: Despite the increased provisions, our facilities will not be utilized to capacity; in some sectors, only 95 percent of the facilities are utilized.

We also have great reserves for further reducing consumption and material expenditures, and for increasing labor productivity. Hence, I want to dwell on this and to once again call your attention to the fact that all the ministries and central bodies, all the county committees and working people's councils at all levels, must thoroughly examine and take measures to finalize the plan, to conclude domestic and export contracts, and to ensure supplies so as to create a sound basis for optimally implementing the plan provisions.

Less than 1 month ago we marked the first year since the Central Committee plenum which examined and adopted the program on political-ideological activities in keeping with the current stage of development of our socialist society. This is not the time to dwell on those matters. I wish only to call your attention to the fact that the party bodies and organizations have not made sufficient efforts to duly improve the political-educational ideological activities. Hence, we must take resolute measures to improve them in the spirit of the program adopted by the plenum and the party national conference.

I am fully convinced that our entire party will energetically act and will honorably fulfill its historic mission of organizing and leading our nation to implement the party program and to raise our fatherland to higher peaks of progress and civilization. I am confident that, in the context of the efforts to implement the decisions of the 12th congress, of the national conference, and of the present plenum, the unity of all the working people, regardless of nationality, will be strengthened, and that all the people -- united within the Socialist Democracy and Unity Front -- will resolutely strive to implement the domestic and foreign policies of our party and socialist state, which are fully in keeping with the interests of the entire nation and of the cause of international peace and cooperation. (loud, prolonged applause)

We will have to act with all our forces to justify the people's trust, to raise socialist Romania to higher peaks of progress and civilization, to strengthen our fatherland and its independence and sovereignty, and to secure its free, socialist, and communist future.

With this conviction and these thoughts, I want to wish the Central Committee members, the party, and all working people, regardless of nationality, ever greater successes in all your activities, in work and in life! Good health and happiness! Good work, comrades! (loud, prolonged applause)

TEXT OF COMMUNIQUE ON TURKISH PRIME MINISTER'S VISIT

AU060910 Bucharest SCINTEIA Romanian 5 Jul 83 p 3

[Text] At the invitation of Comrade Constantin Dascalescu, prime minister of the Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania, Bulent Ulusu, prime minister of the Republic of Turkey, paid an official visit to the Socialist Republic of Romania from 1-4 July 1983.

Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, received Turkish Prime Minister Bulent Ulusu. On that occasion, the guest conveyed cordial and friendly greetings from Kenan Evren, president of the Republic of Turkey. Expressing thanks, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, conveyed greetings and best wishes to President Kenan Evren, and wishes for prosperity and well-being for the friendly Turkish people.

The sides exchanged views on further expanding and deepening the relations of multi-faceted cooperation between the Socialist Republic of Romania and the Republic of Turkey, and on certain aspects of international political events.

The Turkish prime minister, Bulent Ulusu, laid a wreath at the Monument of Heroes in the Struggle for the Freedom of the People and Fatherland and for Socialism. During his stay in Romania, the distinguished guest and his aides toured economic and social-cultural points of interest in Bucharest, Ploiesti, and Brasov. Everywhere he was met with hospitality, cordiality, and esteem. During his visit, the prime minister of the Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania, Comrade Constantin Dascalescu, and the prime minister of the Republic of Turkey, Bulent Ulusu, held official talks, which proceeded in an atmosphere of cordiality and mutual esteem and understanding.

During their talks, the two prime ministers examined in detail the current stage of bilateral relations and means of further developing them, especially in economic areas. At the same time, they exchanged views on certain current international affairs.

Both parties emphasized with full satisfaction the positive, upward course of the economic, technological, scientific, and other areas of relations between Romania and Turkey, which developed under the powerful impetus of the decisions and understandings reached between the heads of the two states, Presidents Nicolae Ceausescu and Kenan Evren.

Appreciating that Romania's and Turkey's economic potential offerred broad possibilities of cooperation, the two prime ministers stressed that the understandings reached between the two countries, especially the joint Romanian-Turkish declaration and the program of cooperation signed in Turkey last May, opened lasting prospects for further expansion of commodity exchanges and economic, industrial, and technological cooperation, as well as for expansion of cooperation in other important domains of mutual interest. The two prime ministers reiterated their governments' determination to take every necessary step for the powerful development of this cooperation, which fully accords with Romania's and Turkey's mutual interests.

With a view to intensifying and diversifying the bilateral commercial exchanges, the two prime ministers examined and agreed on measures conducive to a substantive increase of bilateral exchanges so that in 1983 and subsequent years the established level may be reached, on an equilibrated and mutually advantageous basis. To this end, the two parties will assist the conclusion of long-term contracts, the granting of payment facilities, mutual participation in international fairs in Bucharest and Izmir, organization of Romanian and Turkish weeks, and intensified exchanges of delegations of businessmen, with a view to concluding new contracts.

The parties appreciated the activity toward this end in July 1983 by the Romanian economic delegations at a ministry executive level and central institutions, which concluded with the establishment of new ventures and contracts between Turkish state bodies and representatives of Turkish industrialists with partners in Romania. On this occasion, they assessed positively the broad participation of the Romanian foreign trade enterprises in the auctions arranged in Turkey both for merchandise needed by the Turkish economy and for the building of industrial units. Likewise, the intensification of the Turkish businessmen's contacts with the Romanian foreign trade enterprises were assessed as positive.

Considering the targets of the economic development programs in the two countries, the parties agreed to give every support to the measures for the expansion and diversification of the economic, industrial, and technical cooperation, in oil and chemistry, as well as in such important domains as mining, power engineering, iron and steel metallurgy, industrial installations, transport and telecommunications science and culture. The two prime ministers established new measures for speeding up the building of industrial units made by cooperation in Turkey. They also examined the possibility of establishing new areas of joint interest for utilizing oil and coal deposits as well as non-ferrous ores and minerals in Turkey, in the spirit of what has been established in the long-term economic cooperation program.

The parties decided to start operating the Ro-Ro navigation line and to establish a ferryboat line between Romania and Turkish ports by the Black Sea. The two sides also decided to intensify their efforts to cooperate in third markets and build units together. During the interview, the two prime ministers signed the protocol on the results of the talks held and the measures agreed upon to speed up the exchanges and cooperation in the ensuing period and achieve the targets set for this at the top level.

Approaching questions of the international situation, the two prime ministers expressed their countries' concern about the still-mounting tension, an outcome of the continuation of the arms race, of the nuclear arms race in particular, of unsolved conflicts and the emergence of new ones, of the promotion of the policies of force and diktat, of consolidation and division of spheres of influence, of the widening gaps between the developing and developed countries.

The two premiers pointed to the need for all states to step up their efforts to stop the deterioration of the international situation, to renounce the policy of force and intervention in domestic affairs, to halt the arms race and achieve effective disarmament measures, above all, nuclear disarmament measures, to solve all litigious interstate issues by exclusively peaceful means. They also stood for the eradication of underdevelopment and the establishment of a new international economic order, for the consolidation of peace, security, and collaboration, on the basis of fully equal rights, of observance of national independence and sovereignty, of non-interference in domestic affairs, of non-recourse to force and of a peaceful resolution of interstate disputes.

Examining the situation in Europe, both sides expressed their concern regarding the huge accumulation of various weapons, of nuclear weapons in particular, in the continent, and were for agreements to be reached which should provide for a balance of forces not by increasing the number of weapons but by reducing them.

Both sides deem necessary an undelayed conclusion of the Madrid meeting, by agreeing on a substantial and equilibrated document on convening a conference on confidence-building and disarmament measures in Europe and the furtherance of the multifaceted process begun in Helsinki, which would contribute to the progress of other negotiations on the ensuring of security and the development of cooperation in the continent.

The two prime ministers reiterated Romania's and Turkey's resolve to make further efforts to promote the bilateral and multilateral collaboration among the Balkan countries, to turn the Balkans into a zone of peace, stability, good-neighborly relations, and collaboration on multiple planes. The two prime ministers expressed complete satisfaction with the fruitful results of the Turkish prime minister's visit to Romania, and stressed that they will make an additional contribution to deepening and consolidating the traditional relations of friendship and cooperation between the two countries, in the interests of understanding, of the cause of peace and national independence, and of security and cooperation in the Balkans, in Europe, and throughout the world.

Prime Minister of the Republic of Turkey Bulent Ulusu invited Prime Minister of the Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania Comrade Constantin Dascalescu to pay an official visit to Turkey. The invitation was accepted with pleasure; a date will be set through diplomatic channels.

VIDIC REPORT TO LCY CENTRAL COMMITTEE

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[Text] Belgrade, 1 Jul (TANJUG) -- Dobrivoje Vidic, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, submitted the introductory report on the theme "The International Situation, Developments in the Workers' and Other Progressive Movements in the World and the International Position of the SFRY' at today's plenary session of the LCY Central Committee, which is considering topical questions of international relations and the LCY's links and cooperation.

He said:

At the 12th LCY Congress we adopted attitudes on the situation and developments in international relations and the workers' and other progressive movements, assessed the international position of our country and, also, determined the LCY's and SFRY's lines of activity and tasks in the international field.

The congress adopted a clear Marxist attitude towards present-day international developments. The LCY proceeds in its international policy from the basic historical tendency of our time, from the interests of the people and the progressive social classes and forces, for liberation from political and economic dependence, for national and social emancipation. The League of Communists and our country are in the front ranks of the struggle for peace, independence, and security. The international prestige of our independent and nonaligned foreign policy, which was built on the humane greatness of our national liberation struggle and socialist revolution, on the successful development of the SFRY, and on the contribution made by our country, led by the LCY headed by Josip Broz Tito, to the international community, stems precisely from the fact that it is faithful to its basic orientations.

This places the League of Communists under an obligation to make ceaseless efforts, as a revolutionary movement, to understand as deeply and fully as possible the problems of social development in the world and developments in international relations, to contribute to the affirmation and development of positive processes, be concerned continuously for the international position of our country, and to work in every way for the consolidation of that position. All this presupposes verification and deepening of our knowledge and assessments and the constant improvement of the League of Communists' practice in concrete international conditions and conditions of the struggle for economic stabilization and the development of socialist self-management in our society -- in other words, further elaboration of the LCY's attitudes and cooperation programs in the international field.

I

1. We must note that in the period since the 12th LCY Congress the processes of the world crisis have not been halted and that economic, social, political, ideological, and other social contradictions in the world continue to be more acute. World peace is increasingly threatened by the policy of confrontation between the blocs and their struggle for spheres of influence and by the ever-accelerating arms race and the growing gap between the developed and developing countries. International security has been weakened considerably and the freedom of many peoples and states is threatened.

The LCY, naturally, does not hold the view that a world catastrophe is unavoidable and that the forces of reaction, domination, and hegemony can have the main word. The general crisis that confronts us reflects the present-day world's need for deep structural changes.

The need and desire for a progressive change in the existing social conditions have grown more than ever before at different levels of development and in different social systems. In their center are the working class, other exploited social strata, and the people's struggle for emancipation. The circle of independent subjects in international relations grows steadily bitter. The policy and movement of nonalignment exercise a great and powerful influence in this direction.

However, despite all this we have many reasons to be very worried. The resistance to the march of progress is very (?stiff) and the uncertainty and dangers are great. International relations are in a state of greatest crisis since the cold war and, as we have repeatedly noted, it is not realistic to expect speedy and radical positive changes in this connection.

It is the primary task of all the countries and progressive and democratic forces in the world to prevent the further exacerbation of the international situation and to step up the struggle for the democratization of international economic and political relations and for the undelayable settling of acute world problems. This is indivisible from the progressive social development of all the countries and from the true interests of all the peoples of the world.

The Seventh Conference of Nonaligned Countries in New Delhi approached these issues with the greatest responsibility and expressed the resolve of the majority of the countries of the world to work for a change in the present difficult situation in international relations. By directing its activity to the fundamental issues of the present day -- peace, independence, security, disarmament, and development -- it confirmed again that the policy and movement of nonalignment are today's most consistent protagonists of the policy of active peaceful coexistence and the aspiration of peoples for complete emancipation. This policy offers increasingly interdependent mankind the only chance of survival and prosperity. At the same time, the conference strengthened unity and solidarity in the movement and reaffirmed the original principles of nonalignment as the only possible basis for the joint activity of nonaligned countries. India made a significant contribution to this as conference host and chairman of the Movement of Nonaligned Countries.

The LCY extends its full support to the decisions of the conference, which also are the basis of the SFRY's activity in the international field during the next period.

We believe that bloc policy does not lead to the genuine settling of international problems, but, on the contrary, blocks solutions to them. We proceed from the fact that the practice of international relations shows that stable peace can only be ensured by overcoming the policy of confrontation between the blocs and division of the world into blocs. This is why nonalignment has developed and established itself so powerfully as the historical alternative to the policy of division into blocs.

The existence of the blocs, the confrontation between them, and the existence of the policy of force and domination are some of the main sources of the arms race. It is the blocs and the great powers who are the exponents of the unprecedented stockpiling of weapons and of the ceaseless consolidation of the role of the military factor in international relations. The arms race has assumed global proportions. Europe, the Mediterranean, and the Near and Middle East are the regions in which the greatest concentration of armed forces and armament has taken place. However, the process of intensified arming has also extended to many other areas of the world.

Efforts are being made to ensure that there is military presence in all the important sea lanes, as well as to set up new military bases. The race is, to a great extent, spreading into space. All this is accompanied by open propaganda for war, and even the launching of a new doctrine of limited nuclear war is advocated without much hesitation.

Will mankind, and in particular its progressive forces, remain passive in the face of such danger and fail to take effective action to halt the slide to war and annihilation?

The effect of the unfavorable consequences of the arms race on international security are such that there is no excuse for any delay in providing a real answer to this question.

All the peoples of the world are vitally interested in putting a stop to the arms race and starting the process of genuine disarmament, while nonaligned and other developing countries in fact are suffering the worst consequences of this race which is depriving them to a great extent of the funds needed for development.

It is natural that such international conditions and processes should most directly affect the international position and security of our country. Without underestimating the international and European dimensions of Yugoslavia's security position, we should not lose sight of the need to pay particular attention to the conditions and development of events in our nearer and wider neighborhood. The armed conflicts and deepening of the confrontation in the Near East and the Mediterranean are proceeding along with a rapid strengthening of the military forces involved or preparing for involvement in this area. It is also significant that the security conditions in southern Europe, including the Balkans, bear all the basic characteristics of the broader unfavorable security conditions reflected, in particular, in the intensified demonstration of military power and in accelerated modernization of the armed forces. The announced deployment of new missiles creates the risk of additional deterioration of security conditions in our immediate vicinity. Because of all this, we must strengthen our country's defense capability.

Our support for the revival of bilateral U.S.-Soviet talks on limiting strategic arms, on medium-range missiles, on the reduction of armed forces and arms in Europe, and so forth, is intended both as an appeal and as a demand made by the heads of state or government of nonaligned countries at the New Delhi conference to all the countries to begin meeting their obligations to international peace and security and to achieve detente on a worldwide basis.

Regarding general and total disarmament as a goal for which one must strive, Yugoslavia is extremely interested in the speediest practical results in the field of disarmament in Europe, extending confidence-enhancing and security-enhancing measures to the Mediterranean, and creating conditions for the transformation of the latter into a peace and cooperation zone.

Our activity should continue to be aimed resolutely and comprehensively at the further strengthening of the United Nations and its mechanisms in the field of disarmament, at encouraging the multilateral process of negotiations in this field, including calling a new special disarmament session of the UN General Assembly, and at ensuring more efficient work and persistent negotiations at the Geneva Disarmament Committee. Such an orientation presupposes our further comprehensive activity and most active participation in all the efforts aimed at setting in motion the process of disarmament.

The LCY and our other sociopolitical organizations have the greatest possibilities in this field of work for promoting, in cooperation with their partners in other countries, bilateral and other forms of international activity that will contribute to the development of the broadest action of the progressive forces in the struggle for peace and general and total disarmament.

2. The economic situation in the world continues to deteriorate. The crisis of the world economy is already so profound that nobody should underestimate its really dramatic characteristics and fail to grasp its global dimensions. During the past 5 years there has been a fall in world production, and last year it also dropped according to absolute indicators. In a large number of developing countries, the per capita GNP dropped for the first time since World War II. In the developed economies production is also stagnating and falling. Unemployment has reached the highest level since the Great Depression of the thirties and it is continuing to rise. As a result of the stagnation of production and growing protectionist insulation of the developed countries' markets, world trade exchange stagnated for the first time since the war in 1981, and in 1982, dropped to the 1979 level.

The worst hit are the developing countries. There has been a drop in their revenue from international trade, while the high increase in the rates of interest for foreign loans has enormously increased their obligations to foreign countries, so that the balance of payments deficits and the loan repayment burden have reached unprecedented dimensions in these countries. The suppression of inflation in developed countries has to a great extent been made possible by lowering the prices of the raw materials imported from developing countries. The real prices of raw materials have fallen to the lowest level in 50 years. A number of developed countries is increasingly ignoring and violating international trade norms by introducing discriminatory measures for economic or political reasons, which threatens to cause world economic chaos. The developing countries' attempts to invigorate the global talks on international economic cooperation have so far been unsuccessful largely because of the attitude adopted by certain economically advanced countries.

For this reason most developing countries have had to limit their basic development programs. Some have even come to the brink of economic collapse. In countries populated by 1 billion or more people living in the deepest poverty, the main and immediate concern, regrettably, is not progress or development, but the struggle for life and survival itself.

At the New Delhi conference it was stressed that the world is so interdependent that the developed countries cannot solve their economic problems if they adopt restrictive measures that benefit only their countries. It is becoming increasingly obvious that given the world character of the economic crisis, it is also necessary to formulate a world strategy of development that will pave the way to settling the most acute economic problems and make it possible to ensure, through joint efforts, the prospect of development and prosperity for all countries.

It was pointed out at New Delhi that measures should be adopted without delay in the interest of developing countries. It was demanded that a start should be made to the global talks on international economic development cooperation, which should ensure longer-term solutions for the creation of a new economic order through negotiations within the framework of the United Nations. Emphasis was placed on the need to give encouragement at the same time for the adoption of urgent measures aimed at solving all the key problems of the present international economic relations that most aggravate the position of the developing countries, namely the questions relating to food, energy, raw materials, trade and finance (debts), the transfer of technology and so forth.

The Group of 77 worked out specific proposals at Buenos Aires for work at the Sixth UNCTAD Session in Belgrade, and indeed those attitudes made a powerful impact at the session. At it, Yugoslavia came out in favor of adopting joint actions leading to the revival of the world economy, the more rapid development of developing countries, and broader cooperation among developed and developing countries.

The LCY regards it is its duty to comprehensively champion and support the just demands of the developing countries and to ensure that the struggle for the building of a new international economic order is most closely linked with the struggle for peace, security, and progress in the world and that all progressive parties and movements make their contribution to this.

The LCY should further intensify its activity in order to develop an ideopolitical atmosphere in our society that will contribute to the maximum involvement of all our social subjects in the implementation of the obligations which are country accepted at New Delhi. It is particularly important that our country makes its full contribution to the implementation of the principle of collective reliance of the nonaligned countries on their own efforts, and in this connection, of the adopted program of comprehensive cooperation among the nonaligned countries. This is in the basic interest of the implementation of the policy of economic stabilization and further development, and especially economic development, of our society.

However, it is necessary to state that our economic relations with the developing countries are not, taken as a whole, entirely in agreement with our proclaimed policy and that therefore they cannot produce the expected results. Thus we must prepare more quickly a long-term concept of our economic activity which will correspond to our needs as well as to the development needs of those countries, and at the same time ensure a coordinated approach by our economic operators and remove the weaknesses in the working of our organizations of associated labor.

3. The growing crisis in international relations is reflected in the increasing number of acute and potential hotbeds of crisis in the world.

The Middle East crisis continues to be one of the greatest threats to peace in the world. Only by involving all Arab countries, the international community, and worldwide progressive political forces in support of a comprehensive and just solution of the Middle East crisis, with the Palestinian question as its key, is it possible to ensure lasting peace and the undisturbed development of all countries in the region. The League of Communists and our country are resolute in their solidarity and support for the brave Palestinian people and their sole legitimate representative, the PLO, and their just struggle. We hope that the PLO will manage to preserve its unity, which is the condition for further successful struggle for the rights of the Palestinian people in this difficult period of its history. The SFRY Presidency thus interprets the message from Yasir 'Arafat, chairman of the PLO Executive Committee.

The League of Communists and our country are in favor of Iraq and Iran stopping the war which is causing them enormous losses and immeasurable damage, and of resolving their disputes by peaceful means. As regards the crises in southeast and southwest Asia, which have been provoked by foreign military interventions, we favor a political solution, the withdrawal of foreign troops, and allowing the peoples of Kampuchea and Afghanistan to decide their own fate. We constantly advocate the full sovereignty and territorial integrity of nonaligned Lebanon and a peaceful solution of the Cyprus problem. We support the rights of the people of Western Sahara. We shall continue resolutely to support the people of Namibia and the SWAPO liberation movement and to extend aid to their struggle.

We express solidarity with the peoples of the nonaligned African countries in their opposition to the dangers of division and increased outside pressure, as well as with their efforts to preserve the unity of the OAU. We shall support the efforts of the DPRK for the peaceful and independent unification of the country. We shall support the peoples of Central America and the Caribbean in their struggle for the strengthening of independence and the implementation of their democratic commitments.

4. As at the 12th LCY Congress, today too we emphasize that in the existing international conditions, the policy of detente represents the only way to peace, security, and cooperation among all countries. It was confirmed that a detente limited to the policy of bloc agreements and controlled bloc competition is not and cannot be the basis for the building of international security. We have always stressed that detente must embrace all regions of the world and all aspects of international activity. Detente is a process that must be resolutely encouraged, because it corresponds to the needs of the whole of mankind, is of worldwide social significance, and by its contents and implications, exceeds by far the limits of international relations in the narrow sense of the term.

Our attitude toward the problems of European security and cooperation is also in keeping with this. The essence and ways of promoting this cooperation in all fields, including in the present condition, were outlined by the group of neutral and nonaligned including Yugoslavia in their draft final document of the Madrid CSCE meeting. The LCY, in conjunction with other progressive forces of Europe, has the important obligation to make the maximum contribution to the mobilization of the broadest political forces behind the demand not only to prevent the CSCE from lapsing into a platform for interbloc confrontation, and to conclude the Madrid meeting as soon as possible with the maximum possible positive outcome, but also to consistently implement the principles and aims of the CSCE in its continuity and in the future practice of relations between participating states. In the implementation of these aims, the convening of the European conference on the strengthening of confidence-building measures and disarmament in Europe is of special importance. Here there is an acute need for a meaningful exchange of views and cooperation between the European political parties and peace movements.

The policy of domination and expansion of the spheres of interest and influence is increasingly using the methods and means of a special war, that is planned and coordinated political, economic, psychological propaganda, and military measures and actions against individual countries, groups of countries and national liberation movements in order to destabilize them, destroy the existing social order, and make them dependent and subordinated. The nonaligned countries are particularly exposed to these attacks exploiting their economic, political, and other difficulties and weaknesses. Internal subversive activities are being incited and supported and crisis situations are being created. Special war is being particularly applied in potential and existing hotbeds of crisis in the world and in the regions which are subject to struggle for expanding spheres of influence.

In this connection it is necessary to emphasize that the intensification of the ideological and propaganda confrontation of the blocs and the ideologizing of state policy anywhere very adversely affects the international situation and cooperation. This is only used to justify various aspects of penetration, especially in the areas of the nonbloc countries.

Our country is also not spared various aspects of pressure, which has been on the increase recently. The League of Communists is obliged to pay corresponding attention to this because it is of special importance for our country's security.

5. By their present development, commitments in the internal and international field, and their struggle and policy, our country and the LCY have gained a strong international position and an important place in international relations. The basis of today's position of Yugoslavia and the LCY in the world lies in the continuity of our internal and foreign policy orientation and action whose inspirer and builder for decades was Josip Tito.

The general deterioration of the international economic, political, and security situation has objectively made our efforts for the preservation and strengthening of a stable international position of our country more complex. We are especially faced with the difficulties in our international economic and financial position which, apart from domestic reasons, are also largely due to a series of circumstances beyond our control and under the influence of the world economy. In order to overcome them it is necessary to make a qualitatively new creative working effort by really total self-reliance, which however does not mean isolation from the world around us. It is expected that with the completed work of the Commission of the Federal Social Councils for Stabilization we shall finally enter the period of necessary reforms and radical measures which on a long-term basis will enable the SFRY to occupy a corresponding active place in the international division of labor on the basis of growing productivity and all other qualitative production indicators. This will ensure a way out of our present difficulties.

The negotiations on the new credits are not yet completed. Their successful completion would help us more easily to overcome the situation.

One of the basic questions is the need to adapt and coordinate the strategy of Yugoslavia's economic development in keeping with the principles of socialist self-management with the struggle for further strengthening economic and political independence in the conditions of current international economic and political relations. On this occasion, too, we must emphasize that we shall not allow anyone under any pretext -- political, economic, or ideological -- to bring into question the independence of our country and its socialist self-managing development.

Apart from faster growth of exports, it is important for the general position of our country to have a correct regional distribution of our economic exchange with foreign countries, to develop economic relations with the developing countries, to free ourselves of foreign financial and technological dependence, and to overcome the trade deficit with the area of convertible foreign exchange. We must therefore consistently carry out all decisions which we adopt in order to improve our country's position in international economic relations. This is one of the essential preconditions for the preservation of the SFRY's stable international position.

Yugoslavia is in an area where the interests of great powers and blocs are interwined, and its development is therefore followed in the world with the greatest attention. The entire development of the new Yugoslavia and its role in the world have shown that the broad international interest for the preservation of the independent position of the SFRY in the world, as a factor of peace and stability in the Balkans, Europe, and the world, has been strengthened.

In the conditions of deepening interbloc confrontations and divisions, independent Yugoslavia, which with other nonaligned and peaceful countries advocates a resolute solution and overcoming of the existing international problems and contradictions, represents a factor of peace and firm advocacy of the need to develop constructive cooperation in international relations. This requires the preservation of the global character of our foreign policy, full initiative, creativity, and involvement in the international community, especially in the Movement of the Nonaligned Countries and in the United Nations.

We shall therefore continue to pay full attention to all aspects of our foreign policy and to the development of relations with all countries, regardless of their social systems, on the basis of the principle of active peaceful coexistence.

Yugoslavia continues to develop and build relations with all countries on the basis of mutual respect for the principles of sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity, equality, noninterference, and the right to independent internal development. Our country is not predisposed toward any great power or bloc, nor does it demand the adoption of a stance of equidistance from the blocs. Our attitude toward all countries and international factors depends on their actual international activity and their attitude toward the SFRY as an independent and nonaligned country.

Yugoslav-Soviet relations are good, developed, and mutually beneficial, which is important for both countries. The top-level talks that have taken place since the 12th LCY Congress -- and here I mean particularly the meetings by Comrade Ribicic and Stambolic with Comrade Andropov in Moscow last fall -- have stressed that the entire experience and results achieved in these relations confirm that the basic principles laid down by the Belgrade Declaration of 1955 and the Moscow Declaration and Statement of 1956 represent a lasting foundation for the development of equitable relations and mutually beneficial cooperation between our two countries and between the LCY and the CPSU. Both sides stress their wish that the overall Yugoslav-Soviet relations should continue to develop in a stable and comprehensive manner. During the visit to our country by N. Tikhonov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, both sides confirmed their readiness to develop stable and mutually beneficial long-term economic cooperation between Yugoslavia and the USSR, the USSR being our country's biggest economic partner. More regular and frequent contacts at various political levels are envisaged. On the international level we will continue to cooperate on questions of mutual interest for peace, equitable international cooperation, progress, and socialism in the world.

At the invitation of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, General Secretary of the CPC Central Committee Hu Yaobang recently visited our country. This visit represents a significant step toward a closer mutual acquaintance and a fresh impetus for further development of friendly Yugoslav-Chinese relations and cooperation. This cooperation is developing well. It is based on full equality and mutual respect for characteristic aspects of the internal development and international position of the two countries. We will continue along the path of comprehensive development of Yugoslav-Chinese relations and cooperation, also including regular dialogues and cooperation between the LCY and the CPC.

Our cooperation with the majority of socialist countries is well developed and fruitful. It continues to follow an upward path and is carried out in the spirit of principles that we have always advocated and continue to advocate. Our position is that differences in internal development and international position should be respected, and that they therefore need not be an obstacle to further development of comprehensive cooperation.

Our country has good relations and cooperation with the United States, although there are well-known differences. Our bilateral relations are developing successfully, our political dialogue is regular, and economic and financial cooperation is expanding and developing successfully. We respect the U.S. stance, expressed on various occasions, of accepting our country as it is and, in our mutual cooperation which is developing to mutual advantage, of respecting the fact that independent and nonaligned Socialist Yugoslavia is a factor of peace and stability in Europe and the world.

In our relations with Western European countries, the achieved level of cooperation and mutual interest in furthering relations, bearing in mind the existence of well-known differences, represents a good basis for further expansion of comprehensive cooperation. This cooperation, however, is burdened by the protectionist economic policy and a high trade deficit and balance of payments deficit on our side. We have the joint task of exploiting more fully broader possibilities for cooperation with the EEC. An increase in exports to this area and an improvement in our liquidity in relation to it is a great task of the policy of stabilization.

Yugoslavia and the LCY devote great attention to the development of the situation and relations in the Mediterranean. Guided by the belief that cooperation among the Mediterranean countries in all fields of mutual interest contributes to the solving of problems in this region, our country actively supports its development. Likewise, the LCY and SAWPY devote particular attention to the furthering of cooperation among parties and movements of progressive and socialist orientation in the Mediterranean area.

We advocate the development of comprehensive cooperation among all the Balkan countries, including bilateral and multilateral cooperation, on the basis of a consistent and concrete implementation of the UN Charter and the Helsinki principles on the part of all countries of that region. We also advocate that the Balkans should be turned into a zone of peace and cooperation, free from the presence and threats of use of nuclear and all other forms of arms. Yugoslavia is opposed to any outside interference into relations among the Balkan states.

The idea of convening a Balkan summit conference was discussed during talks with political representatives of some neighboring countries. The aim of such a conference would be to examine the existing relations and above all the possibility of setting up a nonnuclear zone and peace zone in the Balkans. Our country's policy is constantly oriented toward strengthening all conditions for peaceful development and friendly cooperation among all Balkan countries. The Balkans, indeed, can and must become an exemplary zone of peace if all countries of this region work resolutely toward this end. However, difficulties in this respect are obvious and familiar. They should be overcome by a consistent policy of adherence to the UN Charter and the Helsinki documents by all the Balkan countries. In her recent letter to Greek Prime Minister A. Papandreou, President of the Federal Executive Council Comrade Milka Planinc gave a positive answer in connection with the proposal that a meeting of experts from Balkan countries should be held in Athens on the subject of conditions and possibilities for the creation of a nuclear-free zone in the Balkans.

The development of relations with our neighbors and the results achieved have wholly confirmed the correctness of stands adopted at our congresses and, equally, at the Karadjordjevo session of the LCY Central Committee Presidium in 1978 and, naturally, at the 12th LCY Congress, concerning our country's long-term orientation toward furthering comprehensive good-neighborly relations and cooperation on the basis of a consistent adherence to the principles of sovereignty, territorial integrity, equality, and noninterference, mutual respect and reciprocity. Comprehensive good-neighborly relations are a cornerstone of the firm international position of our country and a way of solving outstanding questions in existing relations. We believe an equitable and free development of nationalities in all Balkan countries and other states in our vicinity to be a significant condition for even better understanding and more fruitful cooperation of all countries in this area. We have maintained the continuity of friendly relations and of strengthening mutually advantageous cooperation with most neighboring countries, regardless of certain fluctuations.

It can be said that this cooperation, in spite of temporary limitations of an economic nature, is characterized by open borders, communications among people, well-developed local border traffic, and varied links not only on the state, political, and cultural level, but also on the level of socio-political and social institutions and organizations.

Despite numberous contacts and agreements which have stimulated cooperation in many areas, particularly on the economic level, the state of Yugoslav-Bulgarian relations remains complex, particularly because Bulgaria persists in not recognizing the existence of the Macedonian nation and the Macedonian national minority in Bulgaria, which, bearing in mind facts and the reality of the situation, is both incomprehensible and untenable. Our line of action consists in solving these problems, as well as developing cooperation. So far we have not been successful in finding a common basis. We will continue to work in this direction. It is time, and it is also in the interest of the nations and nationalities of both countries, that Bulgaria's unrealistic stand toward the Macedonian nation should be changed, and that it should respect the constitutional organization and the Antifascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia basis of the SFRY.

The Albanian leadership's open territorial aspirations toward Yugoslavia, its interference in our internal affairs with the aim of giving further support to irredentist elements in Kosovo, as well as its attacks on our constitutional system, socialist self-management system, and policy of nonalignment, have all led to an abnormal situation in mutual relations and to the stirring up of interest on the part of outside factors in this region. This has an adverse effect on stability in this area and on our country's political and security position. The Albanian leadership still does not show readiness to establish normal goodneighborly relations with our country, in spite of our numerous proposals in that direction. The consequences of such a policy could be far-reaching, not only for the Balkans but also beyond it, particularly due to the fact that the People's Socialist Republic of Albania is the only European country that has not signed the Helsinki documents. For this reason we are resolutely opposed to this policy of the Albanian leadership.

We want good-neighborly cooperation with Albania, based on the principles of active peaceful coexistence and on the UN Charter. An improvement in relations between the SFRY and the People's Socialist Republic of Albania and a development of comprehensive and fruitful cooperation is not only possible but also vital, since it is in the real interest of the peoples of the two countries.

A great number of these Yugoslavs [not further specified] are growing increasingly worried about their living and working prospects, since their status is less favorable than the status of workers from the EEC countries. However, the situation is not identical in all countries. Sweden's example shows that when there is political will, it is possible to solve and achieve success in solving at least the most sensitive issues of this situation. Yugoslavia is constantly starting initiatives aimed at regulating open questions bilaterally. However, what is needed is a greater readiness and understanding for our proposals and demands. These problems should occupy a more prominent place in our overall relations with these countries.

In the case of most countries in which Yugoslav hostile emigre circles are active, there has been certain cooperation and results achieved in curbing the subversive activity of these circles against the SFRY. Reactionary circles incite and direct the extreme hostile emigre circles and work toward obtaining for them the recognition of a legal anti-Yugoslav political opposition in some countries -- something which is an integral part of a broader anticommunist campaign and pressures on our country.

The LCY and our other sociopolitical organizations should hold a political dialogue about all these issues with parties and other political factors in those countries. They should also explain our stand and ask for their involvement against this anti-Yugoslav activity. Encouraging or tolerating anti-Yugoslav activity in any form can only harm our relations and mutual interests of cooperation between Yugoslavia and these countries.

This is equally valid for all countries in which there are attempts at anti-Yugoslav activity, regardless of whether the activity is on the part of fascist separatist Albanian or other hostile emigre circles, or on the part of Cominformists. Such activity is directed against good relations between Yugoslavia and these countries and against peace, international security, and cooperation.

II

The celebrations marking the centenary of Karl Marx's death in our country and in the world as a whole were a convincing demonstration of the inevitability, topicality, and stimulative force of his revolutionary cause.

We have stated in the LCY program and other documents that socialism is a world process and that Marxism is the thought of the modern epoch. The course of historical trends fully confirms this.

As Tito and Kardelj often underlined, Marxism can achieve this in modern conditions insofar as it rids itself of every form of dogmatism and monopoly and of all so-called "only true" interpretations, and insofar as it develops as a living science, constantly relying on increasingly fresh social experience.

In this connection, it should be borne in mind, in particular, that the world historical development today is marked essentially by the turbulent process of the scientific and technological revolution. The characteristics of this usher in fresh opportunities for the progress of mankind which, given the still dominant social-class and international relations, are not only progressive and emancipatory.

In the given relations of production by monopoly and state capitalism, as well as in state-socialist relations of production, the scientific and technological revolution is largely determined by these relations and is oriented and implemented in such a way as to operate as one of the factors by which these relations are reproduced and developed.

What is of the greatest importance for socialist and other progressive forces, however, is the fact that the scientific and technical and technological revolution creates a material production basis for full realization of the most humane aspirations of mankind and for the progressive social transformation of all countries and peoples.

To judge by all events, the majority of the socialist countries are entering a new historic period increasingly marked by the manifestation of needs for the very vision and goals of socialist society to be further enhanced and for the appropriate reforms of the existing socio-economic systems and relations to be started with the aim of facilitating their socialist development in the freest possible way. Manifestations of stagnation and even critical situations in certain socialist countries point to the need to seek out new opportunities for further developing the socialist socio-economic and political relations which were formed in these countries during the initial stages of their socialist development.

Owing to the conjunction of many circumstances, the problems of further developing socialism have now assumed the greatest dimensions in Poland, where a general social crisi has come about, accompanied by very broadly-expressed dissatisfaction and spontaneous protests by workers as well as by a breakthrough of open antisocialist activity. Certain results have been achieved in working toward normalization of circumstances in that friendly country but the main tasks, the solution of which will lead to the crisis being overcome, are still to come. The LCY has already expounded on many occasions its standpoint that only the Polish people, the PZPR, and the other socialist and democratic forces in Poland, without interference from outside, can and must find a way out of that crisis and, by means of social reforms and measures, eradicate the real causes which have brought about the present state of affairs and ensure the ways toward the socialist development of Polish society.

The socialist countries have reached a phase in their development where it can be stated that their productive forces have grown exceptionally in comparison with preceding periods. Questions of developing a socialist democracy of the workers class and working people are urgently being posed in socialist society in order that all its creative potentials may be more rapidly liberated. These questions are linked not only with the realization of the proclaimed goals but are also directly and crucially linked with the issues of more rapid development of material productive forces and opportunities in order for the achievements of these countries to influence the development of socialism as a world process.

Measures are being implemented in a number of socialist countries to overcome the established weaknesses of the existing socioeconomic systems. Some countries have already acquired important experience while others are only now starting to study these problems and hold discussions on which direction change should be made.

In this regard, attempts are being made to perceive more profoundly the patterns and contradictions of socialist development, especially in the economic sphere, and to start further improving the mechanisms of economic activity and examining the issues of the position of labor collectives in the process of production and distribution, as well as the problems of standards and overcoming certain disproportions. The idea of socialist self-management is becoming topical and such topics as the role and place of the party in the socialist system, relations between state and society, the reasons for the growth of nationalist manifestations, and the tasks of achieving full equality of nations and nationalities in socialism and so forth are gradually appearing on the agenda. All these trends are clearly very complex and contradictory. It is also clear that the subjective forces of socialism as a world process are entering into a period of searching for new answers to the tasks and problems which have arisen. We must follow all these processes with due interest and in the process of cooperation must exchange experiences on all the developmental problems of socialism.

Historical experience, as well as the present problems of further development in the socialist countries, shows that today more than ever before the further development of socialism is directly linked with the need for more rapid solutions to such social tasks. It is becoming increasingly obvious that increasing the motivation, initiative, and involvement of the broadest strata of working people in decisionmaking on all the vital issues of social life will have a positive, and indeed vital, influence on the accompanying increase in labor productivity, quality of manufacture, business efficiency, and full liberation of creative social forces and potentials. This is the task which our socialist society, too, must resolve more rapidly and successfully.

Experience has shown that in seeking new solutions the greatest damage may be inflicted by attempts to impose any sort of "exemplary models" and by attempts to use other countries to determine the limits of "how far one can go" in further developing existing socialist systems. The objective differences between countries are great and this must of necessity be reflected in the forms of their internal socioeconomic and political relations. Even now, the idea is prevalent that expanding the differences in the specific forms of socioeconomic practice in individual socialist countries could lead to ideological revisionism, have a negative effection on the mutual relations between the socialist countries, and weaken the development of socialist societies. However, parties of the workers class throughout the world are increasingly researching into the ways of struggle for socialism and the ways of socialist development for their own countries, from the standpoint from which they operate. "Models" which cannot answer social needs are gradually being broken down or abandoned, as is the case in Poland. China has made a decisive break with the period of the so-called "Cultural Revolution" and is conceptualizing its own path of "socialism of Chinese hues." Experience more than once has shown that differences in methods of seeking individual paths for the development of socialism are a natural expression of objective circumstances in which the forces of socialism operate and that they are not the real source of conflicts between the socialist countries, nor should they be such. On the contrary, the insistence on obligatory "models" inevitably leads to conflicts or deepens them even when they derive from other causes.

When we stress this experience of the past, we in no way underestimate the great importance which intensive, all-round, creative study of the experiences of all socialist countries has for the LCY and other parties. Individual practice can only be enhanced and perspectives of the creative theory of socialism broadened by examples drawn from the positive and negative experiences of other parties and countries.

The economic difficulties that have occurred in our economy in recent years have also resounded in the discussions on and the research into the ways of solving current problems in other socialist countries. Some people see in our difficulties, whose nature they do not treat objectively, the "evidence" of the correctness of their earlier negative assessments of our system of socialist self-management. However, many people are increasingly accepting the historic foundation of the road along which we are proceeding. On their part, they are attaching more and more attention to the importance of our positive experiences when they seek solutions to the problems of the economy and society in their countries. The tasks that have to be solved in this vital field are knocking on the doors of not only the socialist countries but also of all countries in which the workers class and the working people increasingly consider themselves to be and are organizing themselves as an effective factor in development and contemporary social history. By overcoming economic difficulties, our need and obligation is to continue to develop increasingly more successfully all aspects of our system of socialist self-development.

When the mutual relations of the socialist countries and their foreign policy are involved, the actual situation shows that it is resolutely necessary to stimulate efforts to build new, increasingly more democratic relations between these countries and in the world in general, efforts which are the only ones that can make the appeals for a policy of active, constructive, and equitable cooperation convincing, as well as gain full respect for the interests of all countries. Developments in recent years also fully confirm the untenability and unacceptability of military conflicts and wars between the socialist countries or the pursuance of hegemonistic policy, and the use of force toward other countries. The struggle for peace and peaceful cooperation must in practice become a really historic priority of the socialist and other progressive forces in all countries.

Taken as a whole, it is obvious that the creative potentials of the socialist forces must be freed more rapidly to build historically new relations among people and peoples.

2. In the developed capitalist countries, along with the movements in the development of the workers movement, a wave of new movements has developed in recent years such as the peace, antiwar, antinuclear, ecological, and other movements. In most peace movements the nonbloc orientation and the interest in nonalignment have been strongly expressed and they are an important component of the struggle for peace, for a secure world, and for international cooperation.

In Europe the crisis has influenced an intensified reexamination of the political strategies of the progressive and democratic parties. Many positive tendencies have been expressed in leftwing trends and the interest in the policy of nonalignment has increased. However, the process of a new revival of conservatism and rightism on a world scale has strengthened. The policy of certain bourgeois circles has become radical in the sense of a stronger class intensification and has tried to reduce the influence and material power of the workers class and other working strata. On the international plane these forces reject detente, call for anticommunism to be raised to the level of state policy, and are ready to encourage and export counter-revolution.

In London recently the so-called "International Democratic Union," which embraces the conservative and, in general, rightwing political parties of Europe, was even formed. The union is already announcing a struggle against the socialist forces and tendencies in Europe and wider afield in the world.

The revival of such dangerous tendencies jeopardizes democratic achievements in international relations and makes the further struggle of all democratic, progressive forces more difficult. Anticommunism and an ideologizing of state policy can only bring us back to the times of the most difficult forms of the cold war and lead to a world conflict. One must firmly resist this, as well as all attempts to revive revanchist, fascist, and other reactionary forces and ideologies.

Today, the tendencies of the churches (Catholic, Islam, the Orthodox Church) to adapt their activities to the changes which have occurred in contemporary society are being expressed in a greater or smaller measure. These tendencies are intertwined with attempts by religious organizations to win an influential place in the political processes for themselves, to appoint themselves as the only protagonists of the national identity of individual peoples or even to put their seal on the social movements, on the state, and on other forms of administration of public affairs, as is the case, for instance, with Islamic fundamentalism of the Iranian type.

We must attentively follow all these trends on the international scene and in our country, distinguish between unacceptable interference and actual problems in the relations between the state and the church in the present time, within the frameworks of the constitutinally determined role and place of the religious organizations and guard ourselves from sectarian conclusions and reactions.

In Western Europe, in parallel with the intensification of rightwing tendencies, democratic, leftwing and socialist tendencies are increasing that are important in many ways for the development of socialism as a world process as well as for the democratization of international relations in the sense of developing ideas and practice which can lead to overcoming the bipopular bloc logic in solving burning world problems.

In Western Europe there are also tendencies toward a more specific and independent foreign political attitude toward the essential problems of international relations and the contemporary world, such as detente and security, economic cooperation with the East European countries and especially relations between the developed and developing countries.

The intensification of the economic, political, and ideological crisis in bourgeois society has contradictory consequences for the social, class, and political struggle of the leftist, socialist, and progressive forces. On the one hand, the crisis is intensifying the social and class contradictions and is expanding the basis of social struggles, encouraging the search for new social and political alternatives. On the other, the crisis does not have an equally sharp effect on the existence of all groups of workers and all sections of other strata. Because of this and other factors, there is an increasing problem of ensuring the unity of the working class and all other progressive forces. This in fact makes the search for a way out of the existing social and economic crisis more complex.

The changes in the social and international conditions of struggle and the movements in the relations between political forces are also reflected in the agitation within the ranks of the parties of the so-called Eurocommunist orientation. This orientation made and is making its contribution to the struggle for democratic relations in the workers movement and for a democratic transformation in their own societies. The critical summing-up and examination of the present experiences in the struggle for socialism, which is being carried out within the circles of parties of this orientation, serves the search for an alternative authentic socialist transformation in the highly developed capitalist society. This search also raises the questions of attitude toward such postulates of socialism as the dictatorship of the proletariat, Marxism, and Leninism as the ideological basis (or only the inheritance) of the workers movement, the application of the experience of so-called "real socialism" to the conditions and needs of the West European workers movement, and so on. Discussions and also sharp polemics are now being held about these questions between some communist parties.

The present phase of conceptual projections and practical efforts by the Eurocommunist parties must be seen from the point of view of the ability of these forces to make creative contributions and theoretical political innovations which again confirm the values of the Marxist view of the contemporary world. It is clear that in this case, too, the road and practice of these parties cannot be considered as a "model" for others because of the existence of numerous roads to socialism. The Italian Communist Party, as shown by its congress in Milan, is elaborating ideological-political convictions in accordance with the conditions of its country. In this sense, the strategy of a "democratic alternative" has been adopted. The French Communist Party is in a different practical situation, while the Spanish Communist Party is only just recovering from the election failures and is seeking reasons for these failures.

Under the influence of the crisis of capitalism, the signs of internal examination of the doctrine of classic social democracy have also appeared in the European social democratic parties. At the beginning of the eighties, certain changes occurred in the influence of the social democratic forces.

It is an important fact that those forces which expressed a more consistent class approach toward socialism in their program achieved success in the elections. This, among other things, also shows the increasing complexity of the ideopolitical convictions in the social democratic movement which is also of a programmatic character. Further efforts to find corresponding socialist alternatives are clearly reflected in very important questions of the ideopolitical trends in the European left.

The social democratic movement has considerable influence on the working class, middle social classes, and in general, on a large strata of the population, especially in Western Europe. The social democratic movement therefore has an especially great responsibility in the struggle for peace, disarmament, international detente, and cooperation throughout Europe and the world.

At the recent congress of the Socialist International in Portugal, a positive evolution was noted in the social democratic stances toward the problems of development and also toward the problems of peace and security. It is significant that these parties see their commitment to the new international economic order as an economic necessity to overcome the crisis. The statements by the socialist and social democratic parties that in the struggle for peace and security they wish to work together with other progressive forces in the world are also important.

With regard to strengthening multilateral activity, within the framework of the Socialist International, toward nonaligned and developing countries, we believe that all parties and movements should develop equitable cooperation and dialogue, without limiting these relations by enclosing them within institutionalized forms and without imposing their "models."

In searching for ways out of social crises in Western Europe, the greatest chances for success lie in those environments in which the policy of cooperation between socialists and communists, as well as other forces of the left, is being realized. We stress this since in recent years there has been evidence that Europe's left, in spite of all significant ideological and programmatic differences between individual parties, has been growing closer in its approach to the vital problems of the modern world, such as peace, independence, the attitude toward problems facing developing countries, and also in its approach to questions of social transformation in their own countries, such as topical tasks of the struggle for progress and socialism. This (let us call it) process of growing closer in ideas and views (some call it "dialogue" and some "Europleft"), which is evident in trends within the communist and socialist as well as social-democratic movements of Western Europe, points to their appreciation of new possibilities on the national and international planes for constituting a great democratic social-political bloc which would struggle to change backward social relations.

We have always advocated cooperation between progressive parties of different ideo-political orientations, rejecting any kind of sectarianism. Differences and mistrust continue to be very great. The international situation represents an aggravating factor as do interests for preserving the social status quo, which are in evidence. However, the need for a dialogue, cooperation, and solidarity of all socialist and other progressive forces is also growing stronger.

The LCY and the SAWPY have been developing fruitful cooperation over many years with practically all parties of the Western European left. Our relations with many of them are exceptionally well-developed and intimate. Bearing in mind the positive experiences of our cooperation to date, we believe that there are great possibilities for promoting exchanges of views on all important issues of contemporary international relations and socialism in the world.

3. Parties and movements in developing countries, as well as their societies, are going through greatly increased difficulties. At the same time, aspirations toward strengthening their independence are consolidating in them, particularly toward the Nonaligned Movement and its policy which are proving to be an efficient international political platform for presenting the vital interests of these countries.

In spite of a difficult economic situation and outside pressure and interference, the aspiration toward their own ways of progressive social transformation is very much present in developing countries, as is their rejection of foreign plans and "models." Many developing countries look for this and see it in the orientation toward socialist ways of development. The understanding of socialism in these developing countries is varied due to different historical development and different cultures, relations of class-social forces, and many ideological influences and doctrines, among which Marxism occupies a prominent place. An analysis of the concepts and practices of political parties and movements in developing countries shows that Marxism, understood as a method of analyzing reality and as a theory which creatively opens up paths leading to freedom and to the elimination of monopolies and privileges, is present everywhere, even in the most undeveloped countries. It should, however, equally be stressed that some revolutionary forces in developing countries have not chosen Marxism. Neither have they reached the Marxist awareness of the long-term aims of socialist development. In spite of this, they achieve significant progressive transformations in practice. Social practice is confirmed as being the only reliable criterion for evaluating the revolutionary character of different strategies.

The LCY should devote greater attention to all original efforts and experiences in developing countries, understand them even better, and support them even more. These experiences, searches, and efforts are an integral part of the theory and practice of the development of socialism as a world process.

In recent years Central America, due to the victory of the revolution in Nicaragua and the escalation of struggle in El Salvador, has manifested all signs of the process of extensive social transformation. In this struggle, in spite of difficulties, the process of the growing unity of progressive forces is under way. These progressive forces give the greatest prominence to the specific nature of conditions in their countries, trying to include them into program stands on their own political systems, also including political and economic pluralism. The pressure of foreign forces trying to dominate has placed the events in Central America on the level of a crisis flash-point. It has made the struggle of democratic forces in these countries more difficult and jeopardized the positive heritage and outcome of the struggle in that area at the present time.

In our recent contacts with leaders of the Cuban CP, we confirmed our concern about foreign pressure on Cuba. Starting from its principled stand of giving support to countries exposed to outside pressure and interference, the LCY gives its full support to the independence, sovereignty, and territorial integrity of nonaligned Cuba and calls for an end to all forms of pressure and to the economic blockade of Cuba.

On the whole, the struggle to emancipate the continent is growing stronger in Latin America, which has recently been strongly boosted by the Malvinas war. Aspirations and pressures on the part of working masses aimed at restoring democracy in a number of these countries are in evidence. Reports about strikes in Chile, which have a political character, show that democratic forces have not resigned themselves to the imposed regime in that country.

4. The right tries to present as the main reason for the crisis in bourgeois society the social-political heritage of the working class and its present demands. Claims about the excessive burden of social expenditure, about the reduced competitiveness of the national economies due to high wages, etc, are used in order to shift the burden of the crisis to the working class and also in order to force the introduction of new technology into the production process without undertaking appropriate measures against increasing unemployment. The achieved material and political position of the working class in many countries has been placed in jeopardy or already seriously undermined.

Trade unions are strongly resisting attempts to look for a way out of the crisis by pursuing a recessionary and restrictive policy.

Bearing in mind the global character of the crisis through which we are going, nearly all trade unions in the world are devoting themselves to questions of their place and role in society and of their work aims and methods in order to find a way, depending on the situation in their countries, to provide the most adequate protection for immediate and long-term interests of their members.

International trade union cooperation has always reflected the general state of international relations, which is understandable when it is borne in mind that the existing international trade union structures function within bloc divisions. In the present situation the trend of general bipolarization has grown stronger, as well as the trend of ideological and political confrontation between international trade union headquarters. Recently this confrontation has become particularly evident in connection with the crisis in Poland which has been used as a direct pretext for interrupting the practice of holding annual European trade union conferences within the framework of the ILO -- the only multilateral meetings which until now have assembled representatives of trade unions from Eastern and Western European countries.

However, alongside such a tendency which continues to predominate, consciousness is growing of the interdependence of the modern world, of the impossibility of finding isolated solutions, and thereby also of the necessity for broader bilateral and multilateral cooperation between trade unions, through which the answer will be sought to urgent world economic and political issues. It was possible on these bases, with great efforts on the part of the Yugoslav Federation of Trade Unions, to hold a world trade union conference on development in Belgrade in 1980. A number of new initiatives for meetings, which will in effect mean the continuation of this conference, have been made.

By deepening its contacts with a broad circle of trade unions in the world and through support for other trade unions and participation in international congresses and in actions which may help to solve issues which are of vital interest to the workers class, the Yugoslav Federation of Trade Unions helps to expand international cooperation on equal bases.

The varied and meaningful international cooperation of the LCY, SAWPY, and our other sociopolitical organizations for their part enhance the country's international activity and make a notable contribution to the struggle for peace and progress in the world, forming an important component of international cooperation and the position of the SFRY. In present circumstances, the need for all our sociopolitical organizations to take a more active role on the international level, in addition to state organs, is increasingly finding expression.

With the aim of realizing the decisions of the 12th LCY Congress, the LCY Central Committee Presidium adopted the program of guidelines for the LCY's international contacts in 1983.

When this program was being drawn up, account was taken of the interests of strengthening the international position and international ties of our country. For the sake of economy, a number of previously planned international contacts had to be left out and other rationalizations were also made. Plans for the international activities of state organs, as well as of other sociopolitical organizations, were taken into consideration in drawing up the program.

A large amount of fruitful activity was carried out over the year after the 12th congress through increased involvement and with a considerably reduced apparatus working on carrying out international contacts. Over 60 international party meetings were held, over 20 of them at the highest level. Numbers are, of course, far less important than the content of this activity. I believe that we may consider that this work has made a considerable contribution to international understanding of our domestic circumstances and to affirming our independent and nonaligned policy.

Over recent years many essential issues relating to the struggle for socialism have been aired with fresh relevance and polemics have developed and relations exacerbated between individual parties. The LCY has always advocated open, free, principled, and constructive discussion between the forces of socialism and considers this to be very important in order to overcome tendencies toward ideological monopoly and to achieve creative development of socialist thought and practice.

The round table in Cavtat, which is organizing the eighth successful "Socialism in the World" international tribune this year is an expression of our efforts in this direction. Gathering together representatives of all the more important political and theoretical orientations which see the development of socialism as a world process, the round table in Cavtat affirms the possibility and confirms the expediency of open debates on all complicated and controversial questions of socialist practice and theory regardless of the existing ideological and political differences.

We believe that in the future even greater importance should be attributed to developing the LCY's international communications and that all existing opportunities for this should be used and new ones sought.

The LCY bases its relations with all the parties and movements with which it cooperates on strict respect for the principles of independence, autonomy, equality, noninterference, responsibility toward one's own working class and people, and on mutual respect for differences and interests.

The Berlin conference of European communist parties expressed the aspirations of many parties precisely through the fact that it emphasized the permanent significance of such principles. However, the need to struggle for consistent respect for these principles remains undiminished, as does the need for these principles to be implemented in the specific practice of relations and cooperation between all progressive forces. Although we may say that dogmatism, sectarianism, ideological exclusiveness, and so forth are in a state of crisis, and that the awareness that leading centers are historically outmoded is becoming increasingly evident in the policy and strategies of many subjective forces of socialism and social progress, we must bear in mind that the development of this awareness is uneven.

Recently, the idea of the need to hold international conferences of communist parties as a practice to be fostered has been resurrected. The LCY is known to have clear views and criteria on this, and is known not to be in favor of institutionalizing international meetings of communist parties. The LCY has always proceeded from the view that the struggle for peace and progress should be conducted on the basis of the broadest possible gathering together of all the forces of progress and democracy. We shall therefore continue to maintain, in regard to initiatives of this sort, the standpoints that we have so far advocated and expounded in detail at the 1976 Berlin conference of European communist parties.

III

It is of great importance that at this session of the Central Committee, too, we should underline our orientation toward stimulating in an even better organized and more purposeful way the process of socialization and democratization of our policy on the international level. At a time when our country is developing increasingly intensive, diverse and rich political, economic, scientific, educational, and other cooperation with foreign countries, we must ensure that all subjects of that policy, especially associated labor, take part in building and implementing the unified foreign policy of our country and that we make even fuller use in this respect of all the potentials of the delegate system.

This means that the whole system of information must be further improved, that the activities of all factors of our international cooperation must be effectively coordinated and their responsibility for carrying out the set activities be raised; that international contacts be rationalized; and that planning be promoted and the cadre situation improved in institutions, organs and organizations which have been especially entrusted with carrying out foreign policy. After the congress we made a certain step forward in the LCY itself. However, the organizations and members of the LCY must make even more committed efforts to overcome the existing weaknesses. Cases of uncoordinated trips by delegations and delegates, often with no clearly established platforms on the aims of the contacts undertaken, continue to occur, reports on the results of these activities are not always submitted, and so forth.

In the future we must devote even greater attention to our foreign policy information activity. Communists working in these spheres must make determined efforts to ensure that the international public gains the most adequate and truthful idea possible of the development of our socialist self-managing society and the implementation of our independent and nonaligned foreign policy.

The LCY must continue to encourage organized and continued scientific research into the social trends in the modern world and must constantly advocate the creation of more favorable conditions for the development of scientific research. The LCY Central Committee has already adopted a decision for long-term scientific research to be undertaken on such topical themes as I have already mentioned, such as the theoretical, ideological, and political problems of modern socialism.

In order for the stable international position of the SFRY to be constantly strengthened, it is essential that the need should be recognized for all-round stimulation of creative forces in the production, scientific research, and other spheres of socio-economic and political life, and that new opportunities be opened for initiative and liberation of all the potentials of our society, which are great. In this respect, first and foremost, the LCY has both the duty and the responsibility to open up new perspectives in the approach to these problems. This means that we must be determined and meaningful in advocating more rapid development of socialist self-management, consistent and successful realization of the economic stabilization policy, and further strengthening of the brotherhood and unity and socialist fellowship of our nations and nationalities.

These have always been and remain the determining factors upon which depend the stability and prosperity of our society, as well as its defensive capability and international position.

Meets With Press

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[Text] Belgrade, July 1 (TANJUG) -- Although without Tito, Kardelj, and Bakaric, Yugoslavia consistently pursues its foreign policy, Dobrivoje Vidic, member of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia Central Committee Presidency, said this evening. Vidic this morning submitted the introductory report at the Central Committee plenum on international topics. In talks with journalists here this evening he warned of the "danger of an uncontrolled expansion of focuses of crises in the world."

Speaking about relations with the neighbours, Vidic said that Yugoslavia leads an active and positive policy towards Albania and wishes to develop all forms of communication with that country.

Asked to comment on Albanian Prime Minister Ramiz Alija's assessments concerning relations between the two countries, Vidic pointed to contradictions in the statements by the Albanian prime minister who, while emphasizing the wish for more favourable relations between the two countries, pours insults on Yugoslavia and incites greater-Albania policy.

Vidic expressed regret that "some neighbours, Bulgaria in particular," had not yet shown understanding for the Macedonian nation. He also urged "peaceful and constructive" talks on the national minority issues.

Asked why he did not comment on the latest denial of the existence of the Macedonian nation by a section of the Greek public, Vidic replied that he had not specifically named Greece, but that he had done "everything that concerns hitting the target". Vidic stressed that "all countries, including Yugoslavia" should, regarding the minorities, pursue policies which would promote good-neighbourly relations.

Vidic said that in Poland, a social model "has come under the strongest possible criticism on the part of the working class and the people", and added that "we are looking with confidence at the socialist and patriotic forces" who are now building their own, Polish road. Asked to say what socialist forces he exactly had in mind, Vidic specified that those were the Polish United Workers' Party, "regardless of everything that happened there", the patriotic movement [Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth (PRON)], the youth and citizens' organizations, some Catholic lay organizations and all "patriots concerned about the future of their country". The trade unions in Poland are being gradually restored and we shall watch to see at what pace will the workers themselves become reactivated in them, he added.

The Belgrade correspondent of the Iranian news agency IRNA inquired why Vidic, allegedly, singled out in his inaugural report at the LCY Central Committee plenum Islamic fundamentalism as an example of the growth of religious ideas. The Yugoslav official denied it, saying that he had mentioned all three principle religions in Yugoslavia, which have their legitimate place in social life. I mentioned Islamic fundamentalism in the context of religious trends aimed at organizing all social, economic, moral, and other relations in society in accordance with their religious principles, such as is the case in Iran, pointed out Vidic. He added that he had not linked that with the ethnic Moslems in Yugoslavia.

Vidic said that during the negotiations on foreign credits in support of economic stabilization Yugoslavia "was not exposed to pressures" and the warning against "economic pressures and blackmailing" heard at the Central Committee plenum involved a "principled stand" and was meant for "those abroad who think that they can achieve something by such methods in Yugoslavia."

In retorting to the assessment by a journalist that "Yugoslavia allows for no new alternatives or ideas" in its internal development, Vidic said that "we are against concepts which have been historically defeated on the Yugoslav soil" and which "can do harm to relations among nations", but emphasized that "the institutions of our socialist democracy are open to all other intiatives".

DRAGAN EXPLAINS FOREIGN CREDITS SITUATION

AU061125 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 5 Jul 83

[Aleksandar Vlajkovic and Olivija Rusovac interview with Zvone Dragan, vice president of the Federal Executive Council -- live or recorded; place and date not given]

[Text] [Vlajkovic] Comrade Dragan, what are out total foreign debts now and what it the amount of the credits that must be repaid this year?

[Dragan] Yugoslavia's total debts to the convertible currency area amount to $18 billion, that is, this is the sum of the credits we have obtained until now. The medium- and long-term credits maturing this year, including principal and interest, and the arrears for last year amount to a total of nearly $5 billion which must be paid this year.

[Vlajkovic] What is the amount of the supplementary funds on which we can count this year?

[Dragan] If the entire package of foreign credits in all forms is successfully concluded in these days -- and we have all the conditions to successfully conclude all that now -- then this year we will obtain about $4.2 billion in medium- and long-term financial and commodity credits. Perhaps one part of this amount will be transferred, received at the beginning of next year. This amount includes new medium-term financial credits to refinance the principal, new financial credits, and new medium-term commodity credits for imports of producer goods for export production.

[Rusovac] What is the new total of the country's foreign debts?

[Dragan] Proceeding from your first question and the statement that our total debts to the convertible currency area amount now to something over $18 billion, we see that this year we will increase the net amount of these total debts by about $1.6 billion.

[Vlajkovic] The mechanism of repaying the debts has been determined by law. Can we be certain that it will be possible to quickly start this mechanism in order to enable us to repay the debts on time?

[Dragan] I think that now, even if we want to work slowly, we should not and cannot. I think that we will already take all the necessary measures in the coming days on the basis of the adopted regulations, that is, the laws adopted by Yugoslavia's Assembly, to immediately start the functioning of the entire mechanisms, that is, the National Bank of Yugoslavia together with commercial banks, other federal organs, and the republics and provinces, to ensure that we will meet the term which expires on 27 July, the date until which the repayment of a large part of the principal for this year was postponed, the date which is the last term in this respect, the date when the agreements with the foreign commercial banks should come into effect. Thus, I nevertheless think that we still have enough time to organize ourselves well. And the regulations now open the door for us to effectively ensure this also technically.

[Rusovac] If we failed in this respect, would we really face a moratorium?

[Dragan] I must say that we would already have been threatened by a moratorium at the end of March this year if it were not for the so-called Zurich agreement of 17 January, the agreement with the foreign commercial banks under which the repayment of the principal due this year was termorarily frozen. And I think that, if it were not for that agreement, we would already be in the zone of moratorium and general rescheduling. I also think that it is obvious that this would have happened if it were not for this new package about which we are talking. This is one thing. A second consideration is that we must bear in mind the fact that, despite this entire package, despite all these new credits, this year, Yugoslavia will have to allot at least $3 billion from its current foreign exchange inflow for repaying its foreign debts.

[Rusovac] It is obvious that we face great and significant changes in our own house, as you put it a little earlier. What spheres do you single out in this respect? What do you consider as the priority in this connection?

[Dragan] I consider the struggle in all forms to increase our exports to the convertible currency area as the absolute priority. This is the struggle for the inflow of every dollar in foreign exchange for our exports of goods and services this year and in the coming years; this implies also a struggle for better production and the revival of those production activities which stand a good chance of selling products in foreign and especially convertible currency area markets, and a rigorous savings in all forms of domestic consumption, that is, rigorous behavior in all spheres of consumption in our country in order to reduce the pressure on prices and inflation in the commodity and monetary relations and to ensure the necessary quantities of goods for foreign markets.

[Rusovac] It seems to me that the conditions set out in the so-called letter of intent were a good and important basis for negotiations with foreign creditors. Can you tell us at least something about what this letter says and what these important conditions are?

[Dragan] You know that this year, too, Yugoslavia has concluded a so-called special arrangement with the IMF for the amount of $600 [million] in new medium-term financial credits for the foreign exchange reserves of the National Bank of Yugoslavia to support our stabilization program, that is, the implementation of our economic policy for this year. And in this connection we prepared and reached an agreement with the IMF on the intended use of these funds, on the aims of the economic and stabilization policy which we will carry out in our country. A few days ago, that is, in June, in Belgrade, we held our regular semiannual consultations with the IMF and outlined what has and has not been accomplished and what deviations have been made from the planned economic policy. I think that we agreed on the basic issues, and thus the IMF will continue to support our country, and not only this year. We hope that the more successful we are at home -- as you have put it -- in carrying out our own economic stabilization program, the stronger our international position will be and the greater will be our hope that we will continue to enjoy the support of foreign institutions, among which the IMF is very important.

[Vlajkovic] Comrade Dragan, following the adoption of the new laws, the implementation of certain provisions of the new law on foreign exchange transactions has been terminated. What are the changes?

[Dragan] First of all, what is essential is the fact that with these regulations we have set up not only a rigorous mechanism of repayments and of solidarity for

repayments of foreign debts which are maturing under all these arrangements with foreign partners, but we are also strengthening the financial discipline and control within the country. We have now started to take somewhat more rigorous actions in the sphere of circulation and use of foreign exchange and in our mutual relations within the country, in the relations of the National Bank of Yugoslavia, which is now assuming an important function and role in relations to foreign partners and in relation to the commercial banks and other factors and organizations in the country.

[Vlajkovic] Has anything changed under these new laws as regards the use of foreign exchange by exporters?

[Dragan] Their original rights remain basically unchanged. But it is certain that the system of use, of the method of use, that is, circulation, of foreign exchange is being essentially changed in all spheres ranging from those four circles to the interventionist role of the National Bank of Yugoslavia. [sentence as heard] A part of foreign exchange from the current foreign exchange inflow will certainly be allocated for the so-called solidarity fund at the level of the National Bank of Yugoslavia, that is, the solidarity fund of the entire country for the so-called necessary interventions in the event that all other circles fail, that is, when, at a certain time, these other circles may be unable to ensure prompt repayment of current foreign debts.

[Rusovac] Comrade Dragan, a great deal has been heard and said among the public that the foreign creditors are imposing conditions on us. How true is this?

[Dragan] Some commentaries in our country and abroad hint that, in negotiations with the IMF, we have accepted and are accepting certain solutions which have been imposed on us and which have nothing in common with our economic policy, our stabilization policy, and so forth. I must say nevertheless that the main proposals made to us by the IMF are absolutely in accord with our own anti-inflationary program and our entire long-term economic stabilization program, that is, for instance, with the policy of a real dinar exchange rate, the policy of realistic consumption and limited consumption in relation to the real material possibilities, the gradual policy of realistic active and passive interest rates in relation to the inflation rate -- and this is nicely stated in the anti-inflationary program -- a more flexible and effective fiscal policy in relation to all possible categories which now are not effectively covered fiscally, that is, by the tax policy because the burden of this stabilization and inflation is partly very unevenly distributed, and so forth. Primarily at issue was the following question: How much are we materially able to accomplish in a single year, in view of the existing problems of the Yugoslav economy, its pluses and minuses, both at home and abroad? And in this connection we cannot perform miracles overnight; for that reason, we must have a certain gradualism. But it is well to ensure that this gradualism is not drawn out; we must be aware of the fact that this package merely enables us to have material room for maneuver which, while making this entire turn easier, does not allow for any kind of loosening up, for this could rebound on us badly as soon as this year, let alone in future years.

I repeat that it depends primarily on us and not on our foreign partners and foreign creditors, whether, tomorrow or after tomorrow, we find ourselves in a more difficult situation because of these arrangements. If we now...I think, nevertheless, that the time has come when we must totally pull ourselves together.

The situation now is not only as Comrade Milka [Planinc] told the bankers in February -- that the devil has taken the joke away -- but rather that the devil has come to collect his dues for all our mistakes and failures at home and abroad over the past many years. Now we must gradually emerge from this situation. But in this connection, no one, least of all the creditors, will hand us the final solutions on a platter and provide for us if we ourselves, in the first place, fail to ensure -- with better work and real stabilization efforts in the coming years -- a real turn, and not only that turn on paper which we have attempted several times but usually stopped halfway through.

[Vlajkovic] Comrade Dragan, thank you for the interview and your participation in our program.

ASSEMBLY DEBATES BILLS ON FOREIGN PAYMENTS

AU061234 Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 5 Jul 83 p 3

[Ratomir Petkovic report]

[Summary] "The harmonization of the views of the republican and provincial assemblies on the proposed Federal Executive Council [FEC] package sharpening the conditions for our financial relations with foreign countries, which lasted 2 days in the Assembly Committee for Economic Relations With Foreign Countries, will remain in many respects a historical act in the delegate assembly."

In only 2 days, the delegates had to agree on very delicate problems. "The present danger is that the country cannot fulfill its financial obligations toward foreign creditors if it remains without fresh loans; the approval of these loans, however, entails very difficult financial conditions, as well as great economic and political consequences if the practice of irregular repayment of debts continues." During discussion some delegates recalled the days when the country decided to resist any pressure and others stressed that, in this case, one should have said "no" before excessive debts were incurred.

In negotiating new loans foreign financial circles wanted to insure against any risk and insisted that the Yugoslav National Bank and the country as a whole assume the guarantee for any loans. On the financial side, the new loans adhere to the usual rules but the conditions concerning the guarantees are very onerous, so that our country cannot allow any debtor to fall into arrears with his repayments.

The pressure of time arises from the fact that the present period of grace, during which Yugoslavia suspended its debt repayments as of 17 January, expires on 27 July. Unless a new loan agreement is signed by that time, a moratorium will have to be proclaimed and debts will have to be rescheduled. This means that there will be no foreign exchange to pay for imports of production materials and industrial production will fall more than 20 percent.

"Under these circumstances the FEC decided in favor of new loans, seeing in future loans the possibility of mastering more easily the difficulties under the condition that many matters in the country change for the better." The harmonization of views on the proposed package of measures on foreign payments began in this atmosphere.

The draft bill gave priority to the repayment of foreign debts but the delegates expressed their concern about production, fearing that even exporting industries may remain without foreign exchange to pay for the necessary imports. "In this sense, Stipe Tojcic and Ivo Vrandecic, delegates of the SR and Croatia, advocated an improvement in the proposed bill and warned that the economy of the SR of Croatia may be in a very difficult position in a few months and that its production, which this year has marked a serious fall, will be endangered even more.

"Similar warnings were expressed by delegates from other republics and provinces because the bill did not offer a guarantee that production will increase; this was the greatest worry of the delegates. FEC representatives (almost one-half of the Federal Government attended the harmonization of views) explained that a decline in production need not necessarily occur and stressed that the new loans should help production advance. They did not dispute the assertions that some parts of the economy will get into a difficult position.

"When it was seen that the FEC has no intention of changing the idea on which the bill was prepared, delegates attempted to win the right for the economies of their republics and provinces to export goods whose exports are otherwise prohibited." This would mean exports of wheat, crude oil, fertilizers, and other goods in short supply. The FEC did not agree to these requests and insisted that a regular repayment of debts was most important.

The cost of irregular repayments is high for the whole country, and the practice of debtors simply telling foreign banks that they cannot pay their debts must stop. In some cases the National Bank helped the debtors with loans but these loans were used for other purposes.

The harmonization of views began on Friday and continued on Saturday. The session of the Chamber of the Republics and Provinces was postponed from 1000 hours to 1300 hours, then to 2000 hours, and was eventually held on Sunday at 0400 hours. Despite the early hour, the assembly hall was full of delegates and journalists. On Saturday, at about 1600 hours, it was realized that no essential improvements of the bill were possible, because the delegates lacked sufficient powers. Sessions of the Committee for Economic Relations with Foreign Countries alternated with sessions of the FEC which was meeting in an adjoining

Ante Bubic, president of the Chamber of the Republics and Provinces, then called a session of the chairmen of the delegations. "At the proposal of Miran Potrc, chairman of the delegation of Slovenia, it was agreed to see what could be added to the proposed bill by 2000 hours, and that a session of the Chamber of the Republics and Provinces then be held and that the Law on Payments With Convertible Foreign Exchange be adopted, and that work to improve it begin immediately afterwards in a calmer atmosphere. This was accepted by all chairmen and delegations, and it finally appeared as if the epilogue would be played on Saturday evening. This encouraged some journalists who began preparing their reports, and some of them -- for example, television -- presented them before the work was completed. Later they had much trouble because of this, because the entire procedure of harmonizing views was a state secret until the work was completed."

There was a general feeling of relief, but a new hitch followed shortly: "It was soon learned that the FEC raised the temperature by proposing two new articles with which the delegates had not been acquainted in advance and which had not been discussed in the assemblies of the republics and provinces." One article empowered the FEC to make, at the proposal of the National Bank, a list of banks authorized to conduct foreign business. The other article provided that all foreign payments may be stopped in exceptional circumstances, when all other attempts have failed to procure foreign exchange for debt repayment.

"The delegates of Croatia and Slovenia explained that they could not accept the new proposals without prior consultations." The FEC explained that the stopping of payments may be necessary as a guarantee against falling into arrears with debt repayment. The delegations then began consultations, and the FEC also withdrew to a session. The Committee for Economic Relations With Foreign Countries only met briefly from time to time to ascertain what positions the delegations had arrived at, after which everyone continued consultations.

"In the early morning hours, the chairmen of the delegations came to the committee session. In the meanwhile, the delegate of Croatia said that he could consent to the stoppage measure, but not to the FEC power to make a list of banks authorized to conduct foreign business.

"All attention was turned toward the Slovenian delegation, which could not give its consent without a session of the republican assembly. Miran Potrc, chairman of the delegation, explained on several occasions that his delegation's powers are not broad enough to enable it to consent to something that had not been discussed in its assembly." There was not time to wait for a session of the Assembly of Slovenia, which could not be held before the middle of the week.

"When it was seen that the delegation of Slovenia doggedly maintained its position, the FEC attemtpted to save the situation by withdrawing both proposed articles, but then the other delegations assessed that the law will lack proper weight without the stoppage measure and that without it, the machinery for regular repayment of debts cannot be securely established. These delegations were unwilling to adopt the law on the country's guarantees toward foreign creditors, because they assessed that the necessary discipline cannot be introduced into debt repayments without this article. Further consultations followed. Delegat s began begging each other to understand their respective positions. They began to examine the possibility of resuming the harmonization on Sunday, so that the tired delegates would have time to rest. The FEC members who attended the committee in turns also appeared exhausted. Mijat Sukovic, FEC vice president, visibly exhausted, no longer came to the sessions of the committee in which there was great tension."

More and more people went into the hall in which the committee was meeting. "In such an atmosphere, the session of the committee resumed around 0300 hours, and Miran Potrc made a statement which contained sharp remarks about the FEC action of proposing at the last moment measures with major consequences, but also gave the consent of his delegation to the article which makes possible that all payments abroad be stopped except the fixed and guaranteed payments falling due, while the article empowering the FEC to make a list of banks authorized for foreign business was withdrawn.

"Thus, an exhausting harmonization of views was finally concluded; despite all the circumstances it showed that togetherness prevailed in exceptionally complex circumstances."

FURTHER EXPLANATION OF FOREIGN PAYMENTS LAWS

AU070908 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 4 Jul 83 p 9

[Report on press conference given by federal officials Dr Mijat Sukovic and Joze Florijancic on 3 July

[Excerpts] The causes of the deep disturbances primarily in the field of economic relations with foreign countries are very varied and they have negative effects in several areas. One of the basic causes is that labor and the results of labor of both individuals and the work collectives are not the decisive factor in their economic position in society. The excessive borrowing abroad over several years and spending beyond capabilities were also among the causes, just as were the insufficient mobilization of all the factors in the country to ensure the maximum mobility and concentration, or rather the most rational uti.'zation of, convertible foreign exchange available on the unified Yugoslav market.

This was said among other things by Dr Mijat Sukovic, vice president of the Federal Executive Council, at a press conference in which he, jointly with Joze Florijancic, secretary for finance, explained to the journalists the essence of the latest "package" of laws and decisions which regulate relations of our country with foreign countries.

The Law on Payments in Convertible Currencies provides that the National Bank of Yugoslavia, in case anyone fails to carry out his debt obligation, and after a certain procedure has been carried out, pays this debt, charging the account of some other subject. At the same time, the bank will have the right to block the debtor's account and to prevent in this way the spending of foreign exchange until the debt is repaid.

In fact, maximum "personal" as well as mutual responsibility of the work collectives of the banks and the sociopolitical communities is provided for both their own and other debts, according to the principle "all for one, one for all." The reason for this is that the debt must primarily be paid back by the borrower, but there is a common obligation of "all others" so that the country would not in any way, at any time, or because of anyone repay its credit obligations irregularly.

"Four Rounds" of Debt Repayment

In practice, several "rounds" of responsibility are provided for a regular repayment of debts, from the bottom up. The first round is the obligation of every collective -- a basic organization of associated labor, a work organization, and a composite organization of associated labor -- to do so. If at any time this would not at all be possible, the debt must be paid by the banks who have the debtors as customers. If this second round fails as well, which is to say, if the authorized bank lacks sufficient foreign exchange to pay the debt in due time, the foreign exchange is to be provided by all the banks in the republic or province in which the debtor whose obligation has not been met is located.

If at a given time the foreign exchange installment of the debt cannot be regularly paid at this "level," the National Bank of Yugoslavia will pay it from a fund in which all social juristic persons in the country pay a certain percentage of their overall foreign exchange inflow. This percentage is to be fixed by the Federal Executive Council and it cannot be less than 5 percent. The foreign exchange from this fund is temporarily sold to the authorized banks, which in the preceding rounds were not able to ensure the payment of their customers' obligations.

Controllers of the National Bank of Yugoslavia

If -- and this is hardly imaginable -- even this would not help, Article 21 of this law comes into effect. This article was much discussed at the session of the Chamber of the Republics and Provinces, and the delegation of the Assembly of Slovenia gave its consent to it only after a discussion lasting several hours and after repeated consultations with the responsible people in their republic. Ultimately, the article of the law was passed jointly and unanimously, and it reads:

"If, despite the preceding provisions of this law (what is meant is the sequence of responsibilities in paying with convertible foreign exchange according to so-called rounds -- ed. note) circumstances arise such that foreign payments cannot be made regularly, the Federal Executive Council, at the proposal of the National Bank of Yugoslavia, may stop all foreign payments of commercial banks for a certain period, except the fixed and guaranteed obligations falling due at the time."

Federation as a Guarantor

According to a law of six articles adopted by the Chamber of the Republics and Provinces, the federation undertakes the obligation as a guarantor of $2 billion according to a credit agreement between the National Bank of Yugoslavia and certain banks authorized to conduct foreign business, and a representative of the creditors and foreign commercial banks.

According to this law, the National Bank of Yugoslavia and the the authorized banks are obliged to fulfill their commitments abroad on time. If the National Bank of Yugoslavia or the authorized banks do not fulfill their commitments in the way and under the conditions provided by a special federal law, the republics and provinces are obliged to repay to the Federation the dinar equivalent of these funds, each repaying the part used by the associated labor organizations on its territory.

If the republic or the autonomous province, within a period of 15 days from the day on which it was announced that the federation had carried out its obligation, does not transfer the corresponding amount to the federation, the Federal Accounting Service will, on the order of the federal secretary for finance, transfer the corresponding amount of money from the revenue of the republic or the province to the federation.

Stricter Stand Toward Unbusinesslike Banks

The Chamber of the Republics and Provinces also adopted an amendment and supplement to the Law on Foreign Exchange Operations and Credit Relations with Foreign Countries; namely, the Foreign Exchange Law obliges all banks in the country that are authorized to conduct business with foreign countries to sign by 31 July this year a self-managing agreement on settling mutual debts that occurred in the period from which the foreign exchange market ceased to operate to the last day of last year. This article of the law refers to the obligations which originated when an authorized bank settled fixed and guaranteed obligations of an organization of associated labor which is not its member, but which is a member of another bank which at the time the debts matured was not liquid.

In spite of persistent insistence, negotiations on signing this agreement, according to Joze Florijancic, federal secretary for finance, are proceeding with great difficulty. For this reason the Federal Executive Council proposed an amendment of and supplement to the Foreign Exchange Law which envisages that if the authorized banks do not sign this agreement by 31 July, the Federal Executive Council should adopt within a period of 30 days regulations which will regulate the sources of foreign exchange and the manner of repaying the debt.

BORBA ON 1948 COMINFORM RESOLUTION ANNIVERSARY

AU010953 [Editorial Report] Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian on 27 June on page 3 carries a 3,000-word article by Dr Radovan Radonjic entitled "1948 -- Turning Point in the History of Socialism: First Step in the Search for Own Ways" in connection with the 35th anniversary of the June 1948 Cominform Resolution on the Situation in the Yugoslav Communist Party by which, as Radonjic says, the "until then truly powerful 'leading center' of the communist movement unwillingly but irrevocably admitted that it was no longer able to control and uninviolably direct all activities of the 'fraternal parties'" and showed that the communist movement's "'monolithic unity' had fallen into an insurmountable crisis and that its 'general line' could no longer provide answers to the challenges and demands" of the postwar period. Reviewing the "many changes that have taken place in socialist theory and practice" since 1948, Radonjic points out, among other things, that "in the foreign political orientation of the socialist countries, the policy of force and cold war has been or is being increasingly replaced by the policy of peaceful coexistence."

As regards the "positive changes" in mutual relations among these countries, Radonjic notes that "relations of their formal and, in some cases, even real equality and independence have been established" among them. And in their "internal policies, the positive changes" are indicated by the "asertion of some elementary principles of socialist democracy and increased civil rights and freedoms."

Radonjic believes that "certain changes in the doctrine" of communist parties have been slower in coming than those in the political sphere, but they have occurred nevertheless and are indicated by the fact that a "majority of communist parties, even including those in power, have lost their inclination to rigidly absolutize the practice and experience of the October Revolution and the Soviet model of dictatorship of the proletariat and socialist development." The practice of mechanically copying the experiences of others has been replaced by the practice of critically reexamining one's own conditions and possibilities, Radonjic says.

However, "all these and other positive processes are not developing simultaneously and equally intensively and successfully in all socialist countries and communist parties." According to Radonjic, they are "constantly" accompanied, among other things, by the efforts to "preserve the traditional divisions in the workers' movement and retain the ideological monopoly in interpreting all vital issues of the contemporary world" and "impose one's own ideological and political concepts on others"; by qualifications of certain progressive tendencies as imperialist diversions; and by the attempts to "launch the thesis of limited sovereignty of socialist countries and to seek solutions for the problems of socialism in the bureaucratization and militarization of internal relations."

In Radonjic's opinion, "these and other similar manifestations [illegible] the vestiges of Stalinism" hamper the development of theory, practice, and relations in the workers' and communist movement but cannot stop it. This process cannot be controlled or directed by any center and "cannot be subordinated to anyone's 'higher interests.'" The process is evident in the Eurocommunist orientation of some parties; "it is also basically supported and stimulated by the current efforts of the Chinese Communists" to reexamine their past experiences and "eliminate various 'impurities' from their ideology, policy, organization and method of work -- that is, from the entire orientation of the Chinese society"; and it is encouraged and strengthened by the assertion of the Nonaligned Movement and policy.

"The beginning of this process which grew out of an internal need of the revolutionary movement to overcome the deep crisis and apathy into which it had fallen because of the established monopoly of an independent and absolutized bureaucratic power of the 'leading center' was Yugoslavia's year of 1948," Radonjic says. Resisting the Cominformist pressures and attacks in that and in subsequent years, the Yugoslav Communist Party simultaneously strove to "explain the real meaning and social causes of the Cominform's attack" and consequently "removed the veil of Stalinist ideological rationalizations and mystifications from many open issues and problems of socialism" and, again at the same time, "built in its own country a real historical alternative to the statist form of organization of socialist society and established relations of friendship and cooperation with the progressively and democratically oriented forces in the world on the basis of the principles for which it fought," Radonjic recalls.

Radonjic goes on to state that it was with this struggle that, during the conflict with the Cominform, "the Yugoslav Communist Party succeeded -- one -- in withstanding the tremendous Cominformist pressure, breaking out of an international isolation, and

preserving its right to conduct its own independent internal and foreign policies; two -- in asserting in the international field the principles which it has always advocated and which found a special expression in the 1955 declaration of the SFRY and USSR Governments and the 1956 declaration on relations between the LCY and CPSU; three -- in very quickly and successfully transforming the efforts to preserve its independence into criticism of and into overcoming Stalinism both as a world outlook and as a system of relations; four -- in denying the sense of the existence of a 'leading center' and asserting the principle that the revolutionary character of a party is measured by its real contribution to progressively changing the existing world and not by the degree of its loyalty to some kind of predetermined 'general line;' five -- in rejecting the Stalinist dogma that in the struggle for a new society" everyone should use the "same methods that have been 'tested' in the practive of one country and one party;" six -- in initiating and developing on Marxist foundations the "discussion on many vital issues of socialist theory and practice," including, among others, the issue of "relations between the socialist states and communist parties" and the issue of international relations and struggle for peace' seven -- "in asserting the self-managing alternative in the socialist transformation of its own country" and thereby enriching the historical process of the liberation of labor; and eight -- "in making a significant step in overcoming sectarianism in the workers' and communist movement and asserting a new substance and new critiria of internationalist proletarian solidarity."

Having thus listed the successes of the Yugoslav Communist Party, Radonjic concludes that "the issues of socialist theory and practice raised by the Yugoslav Communists in this conflict" have not been deformed in subsequent developments. On the contrary he says, "these issues and principles have become an aspiration and a basis on which more and more communist and workers' parties are building the key determinants of the strategy and tactics of their revolutionary struggle, international relations, and relations with other progressive forces. For this reason Yugoslavia's year of 1948 truly represents one of the most important turning points in the history of the world revolutionary movement and socialism," Radonjic points out.